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Canadian Nationalism and the War

F. R. Scott

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The Church and the Social Order

W. Lyndon Smith

Tobacco Road -- Ontario Version

R. E. K. Pemberton

Book Reviews

O Canada

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THE CANADIAN FORUM

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Can Spring be far Behind

THE FALL OF SINGAPORE has smashed a few icons and done other damage of a considerably more serious nature. Prestige in the long run must depend on merit and it is to be hoped that British prestige in the Far East will be re-won and retained worthily. If the loss of Singapore can hammer home to the peoples of the democracies that all the war potential in the world is no good, if you cannot hold off your enemy until potentiality becomes actuality, it will have served some purpose, though at enormous cost. For it is no longer possible to say just where the Japanese can be stopped until realized war production rolls them back.

It is good news for the sake of the Chinese front that an alternative Burma road has been improvised, but even it must be protected. It is even better news that Mr. Churchill has yielded to criticism and revamped his war cabinet though the larger cabinet is due for a shakeup also. That ought to bolster British confidence for the reverses yet in store. It is also good news that British shipments to Russia have not been allowed to fall off and it is to be hoped that a really great effort will be made to bring American shipments up to scratch, for there can be no doubt that the crucial battle of the war will be fought in the spring in Russia, and it must always be remembered that German production of war material has suffered in no way comparably to the Russian.

Britain and America must manage by the end of April to supply Russia with enough of the sinews of war (added to what they can produce themselves from their still intact industry) to stave off the new German drive. If that drive to demolish the Russian armies fails, it would not be surprising to see the whole fascist structure quake visibly. If that drive should succeed—but it is in our interest to make absolutely every effort to ensure that it does not succeed.

Gladstonian Liberalism

M R. ILSLEY'S SPEECH, defending the government's position on the question of the plebiscite, is by far the outstanding performance of the present session of parliament. In its freedom from pettiness and in its elevation of view, it has done much to remove that controversy from the squalor and sordidness which Quebec Nationalists and Meighen manpower-conscriptionists have tried to heap around it. Mr. Ilsley's increasing stature has been one of the encouraging features of the war years at Ottawa. With his latest effort he may be said to have attained full growth as a Gladstonian liberal, and the true liberal has both dignity and highmindedness. No follower of Gladstone could have expounded the application of liberal doctrine with more sweetness and light than did Mr. Ilsley on the question of the plebiscite. Mr. Ilsley's principles, as enunciated in his speech, were impeccable and cannot be much criticized. We can only sympathize with Canada that she should have to be governed at a crisis of the twentieth century according to nineteenth century principles—with the only apparent alternative (pre South York) a kind of feudal baron activism.

If illustration were needed, the current Victory Loan campaign provides a striking one. The sheer waste of public money in advertising, the high pressure methods, switched from selling gold shares to selling national defence, and all the rest of the ballyhoo generally regarded as essential to bring about what everyone wants, the successful financing of the war, must surely suggest to a mind as acute as Mr. Ilsley's that these are manifestations of the decadence of a liberalism of which he is preaching the flowering. This is what your liberalism must come to, Mr. Ilsley, when it moves out of the nineteenth into the twentieth century. The tools are no longer fit for the job.

Mr. King, in launching the present loan campaign, said (only too truly) that unless the 'new order' we all want is begun during the war, there

would be little opportunity to start building after the war is over. We commend his words to the minister of finance, for it would be a shame if this man, whose political growth has heartened Ottawa, should stop growing when he is just approaching the problems of his own time.

Progress and Peevishness

WHILE buckling on his armor and girding his loins for battle, Uncle Sam finds cause for worrying about the preparations being made for defense and offense. Two major problems demand solution. There is the one presented by the state of the nation's morale. The "Bundles for Congress" scandal and the petty bickering over the OCD are disquieting symptoms of a malady which many have named smug complacency but about which nobody seems able to do much. On the other hand one reads of encouraging progress in the defense industries, the possibility of a break (long overdue) in the anomalous diplomatic connection with Vichy, and the steps being taken to deal with potential fifth columnists on the Pacific coast. Add to these the concordat between the two labor camps, and the achievements of the Rio conference, and the outlook is not too discouraging.

Then there is the problem of the public attitude toward the government. The reverses suffered by the United Nations in the Orient, North Africa and the English Channel, resulting as they did in a lessening of Mr. Churchill's great prestige in the United States, were bound to arouse public questioning of American leadership. In this case no board of inquiry will be able to direct public annoyance toward those who are really to blame for disasters which many feel are as shocking as the disgrace of Pearl Harbor. Unfortunately, Mr. Roosevelt, like Mr. Churchill, displays a slight tendency to resent criticism and to abuse those whose opinions differ from his own. Obviously men working under such terrific strain, and involved in such momentous issues, cannot hope to please everyone, or to be idolized always by the public, but it is to be hoped that Mr. Roosevelt is in no danger of losing the nation's confidence as did some others of the great war-time presidents. The world needs Mr. Roosevelt and his colleagues for the post-war reconstruction, and, more immediately, the president needs a public opinion better informed and distinctly more aware.

Mr. Words Goes to Town

IN LAST MONTH'S *Canadian Forum* we drew attention to the fact that those who are most vociferously advocating immediate man-

power conscription as the equivalent of total war are largely the same as those who are the spearhead of anti-labor agitation. We did not think that they were yet prepared to come out into the open and confirm the connection. We were wrong.

Mr. Mitchell (Fleet-in-hiding) Hepburn, leading exponent, according to PM and the New York Times, of how not to promote international co-operation, now comes forward to claim the Canadian championship as a creator of national discord. Speaking to the Ontario Agricultural Council, as quoted in the Toronto Globe and Mail of Friday, Feb. 13, Mr. Hepburn said that he favored a selective system of drafting men and urged his farmer audience to break down any prejudice they had against it. He went on:

"I don't believe it necessary to put men in the army right now but we do need men in industry to produce equipment for our soldiers. Mobilization of men would also end these infernal strikes, but we must regiment the country's manpower if we are to cope with an enemy which has used this system for years."

Conscription then, as advocated by Mr. Hepburn, is not to be used for the obvious purpose of getting more men for Canada's armed forces. That is not at present necessary. However, we should have it as a handy weapon for the coercion of labor.

Now it should be evident by this time that you cannot begin coercing labor without ending with the complete Nazi paraphernalia of coercion. On the other hand labor can and has coerced itself in the cause of victory when it feels itself to be secure from the attacks of such as will use the national emergency to undermine its position.

Further, so long as this attitude persists and raises its voice in Canada, just so long will we be denied that efficiency and unity of effort which are the prerequisites of victory. For with what assurance can believers in freedom give themselves wholly to the fight for the rebirth of freedom in the world when they must have one hand free to combat Mr. Hepburn's desire to use coercion in support of privilege. The war must be regarded as one and indivisible, not to be lost at home in the struggle to win it abroad.

Fortunately, the electorate of Canada, as represented by South York and Welland, seem to be aware of this and have rejected Mr. Hepburn and his cohorts decisively. Mr. Hepburn would be wise to take this rebuff to heart.

Tumult and Shouting

THE ONTARIO BY-ELECTIONS of Feb. 9, 1942, will be long remembered in Canadian political history. Of the two held in the province of Quebec at the same time, it is sufficient to say that it was a matter of fairly general gratification that the minister of justice, the Honorable Louis St. Laurent, defeated the stormy petrel representative of the new anti-conscriptionist 'Canadian' party, Paul Bouchard, and it is noted that Dr. Gaspard Fauteux led a field of three Liberal candidates in defeating another representative of the Canadian Party. It is worth pointing out to all those who tend to feel that Quebec is predominantly nationalist and cares little for national unity that both the Canadian party candidates were defeated by a considerable margin.

In Ontario, however, the issues were more complex. In the federal riding of South York, the Right Honorable Arthur Meighen, twice prime minister of Canada, and recalled to the leadership of the Conservative party by high pressure methods, which affronted many good Conservatives throughout the dominion, was opposed only by Joseph Noseworthy, the C.C.F. candidate. In Welland, the newly appointed minister of labor, the Honorable Humphrey Mitchell, was at first opposed only by Mark Kriluk, C.C.F., and later, after the announcement of the plebiscite, by J. Douglas Watt, Independent, who was supported from the outset by the same group of limited-conscriptionists who had jockeyed Mr. Meighen into the Tory leadership. It was insisted that Mr. Watt was a truly independent candidate but as the campaign developed it was impossible to distinguish between his policy and that of the official leader of the Conservative party and both were approximately that of the Committee for Total War, a Toronto organization composed largely of industrial and mining leaders which was advertised as being non-partisan. This coincidence posed an interesting problem for the electorate—Was Mr. Watt a Conservative or was Mr. Meighen relatively an Independent? In any case it was not long before Mr. Meighen's attacks on the government tempted the volatile Ontario premier past endurance, and Mr. Hepburn volunteered to assist both Mr. Meighen and Mr. Watt in attacking the federal government. This brought Mr. Hepburn once again into friendly collaboration with Col. George Drew, the Ontario Conservative chieftain, who seems fated never to be allowed to enjoy the spotlight without being assisted to its outer rim by his more colorful opponent. To accept the assistance of Mr. Hepburn was a colossal blunder on the part of those who were responsible for Mr.

Meighen's campaign (and indeed in this instance Mr. Hepburn's own political acumen seems to have deserted him) for if anything was ever designed to convince the electorate that the political differences between Liberal and Conservative in Ontario are completely artificial, this was it. In addition, it brought the federal government into the fight, not only in support of the minister of labor in Welland, but also (since Messrs. Meighen, Hepburn and Drew had chosen to link the contests together) inferentially at least against Mr. Meighen in South York.

The lines of battle were finally drawn. The Committee for Total War policy, with its emphasis on man-power conscription, was opposed in Welland by Mr. Mitchell, who rested on the record of the Mackenzie King government, and in both Welland and South York by C.C.F. candidates who advocated a total use of all the resources of the country for the benefit of the country as a whole, both in war and peace.

From this point on, a dominant feature of the campaigns was the deepening distrust of the electorate for the Meighen, Hepburn, Drew mesalliance. The upshot of this situation was that while it redounded in favor of Mr. Noseworthy, Mr. Meighen's only opponent in South York, it reacted adversely on the chances of the C.C.F. candidate in Welland, for that part of the electorate which wanted to get on with the war without fear or favor of the representatives of privilege tended to cast their vote for the man the Meighenites chiefly attacked. Despite this, and despite some deficiencies of organization arising out of inexperience, the C.C.F. vote in Welland increased between 1940 and 1942 by approximately 3,700.

If the government chooses to see in the result at Welland a vindication of their war policy pure and simple, as Mr. King's post-election pronouncement indicates, and to disregard the fact that 6,122 voters chose to risk the menace of a Watt victory in order to express their conviction that the war and peace (which are indivisible) can only be won in the twentieth century along the lines of C.C.F. policy, then they must invent quite another theory to account for Mr. Noseworthy's triumph in South York. Undoubtedly some Liberal votes went to swell Mr. Noseworthy's majority of 4,372. Undoubtedly some Conservatives refused to turn out and vote for Mr. Meighen. Undoubtedly there was a protest vote against the high pressure promotion methods of the Toronto Globe and Mail group. But equally undoubtedly the unnatural (or natural) alliance of Hepburn, Drew and Meighen provided a fertile field for a large mass conversion to C.C.F. doctrine. This field was well tended and well cultivated by groups of voluntary canvassers who for

the first time in Ontario were of sufficient numbers to effect the huge turnover by personal contact methods. This was not difficult, as the electorate were ripe for conversion. They had only to explain the C.C.F. position to gain a sympathetic hearing. There was no need to attack the old parties. They stood condemned in the persons of their leaders. The only thing that the canvassers had to contend with was apathy, the apathy that had grown with experience of old party methods and policy.

On this point there is a singular unanimity of opinion. The Toronto Star finds in Mr. Noseworthy's victory a revolt against the outlook of wealth and privilege and sees in it a lesson for the Liberal party as well as the Conservatives. Mr. Leopold Macaulay, one of Mr. Meighen's Conservative supporters, commented that he thought the C.C.F. were "starting to make inroads in the working vote of both parties"—which in this case was a magnificent understatement. Joe Noseworthy, in a statement to the press following his election, regarded his victory as "no personal triumph but a sign of the times," and without detracting in any degree from the credit that is Mr. Noseworthy's, no one who saw the voluntary workers overflowing the C.C.F. committee rooms on the night of the election could doubt that to these missionary zealots belonged the victory.

One point about the experience of those canvassing deserves attention, if only to counter the undue emphasis which the Conservatives gave it. Mr. Meighen's posters were lavish with displays of national emblems and representatives of members of the armed forces. Mr. Meighen apparently believed (which is his right) not only that he was entitled to the wholehearted support of members of the armed forces, but that he got it, which is false. "Four thousand soldiers went out of this riding to aid this nation in its fight for life. No facilities were given to them to vote, and they were as a result disfranchised. What the effect of that vote would have been is manifest to all." Now quite apart from the insolence of any one political party wrapping itself in a national emblem, and quite apart from the fact, which Mr. Meighen apparently didn't know at the time, that he was beaten by more than 4,000 votes, the statement is completely unwarranted and unworthy. It would be equally unworthy for the C.C.F. to indulge in wild claims of the support of the whole overseas armed forces, for Canadian soldiers have still the right to minds of their own, and the minds to exercise the right; but, so far as could be judged by canvassing, the majority of soldiers still serving on this side (in about the same proportion as the civilian population, as indeed seems only natural) preferred the kind of war effort which the C.C.F.

advocated, to the nebulousness of Mr. Meighen's estimate of the obligations of wealth in a war effort.

From this as from many other points of view, Mr. Noseworthy's victory is of more than normal significance. Not only has it given a fair sample of the Canadian people an opportunity to underline their determination to fight the war with vigor and efficiency, but it has shown that that section of the people resent the attempt made by Mr. Meighen and his cohorts to distort the perspective of the effort. In addition, it ought to make Mr. King's job of maintaining a unified, as well as maximum, effort much easier, now that Quebec knows Ontario has rejected Mr. Meighen and it is to be hoped that the government will now be able to achieve the freedom of action for the total defense of Canada without which victory cannot be sure.

The experience gained in the proper organization and personal canvassing of a constituency will, we may be sure, be used by the C.C.F. to extend, not only at election time but now, the confidence they are beginning to enjoy from the Canadian people. Much has already been done in the west. It might with some truth be said that the seeds of victory in South York were planted at the time of the B.C. provincial election. The Canadian people are at long last on the march.

Defeat at Kirkland Lake

G. M. A. Grube

LABOR HAS SUFFERED two defeats this month. The first is the election of Humphrey Mitchell, the government's tame 'labor' pet, to the House of Commons as minister of labor. Any minister of labor under Mackenzie King would of course have to follow Mr. King's personal labor policy: to break the rising power of the industrial unions by forcing company unions upon the workers, by starvation if necessary. Company unions are recognised as a sham, and a trick to break unions, by every labor leader in the world, even the most conservative. It is a reactionary policy so un-British as to be impossible in Britain, New Zealand or Australia; such a government policy would also be impossible in the U.S.A., but it still works in Canada. That it can only result in a sullen labor force, if successful, and thereby endanger the efficiency of our war production, does not deter either the prime minister or his lieutenants in the department of labor. This may be a war for democracy, but Mr. Mackenzie King is not the man to see that it is won for democracy in the factory. And Mr. Humphrey Mitchell, that pitiful

holder of a union card, is ready, aye ready to follow his skipper.

The second defeat is the defeat of the strike at Kirkland Lake. Let us call things by their right name; it is a defeat. To pretend that the men are returning to work with their union's consent for any other reason can do no good; it can only confuse the issue or make it possible for the government to confuse it.

The sequence of events was given in the January *Forum*. Let me only emphasize here that, prior to calling a strike on Nov. 18, the Union had exhausted every means of conciliation, followed the law to the letter, submitted to every demand of every new order in council, obtained a unanimous decision in their favor from a conciliation board, had the strike endorsed by the majority of the workers, and delayed again and again, to give conciliation another chance—and that their sole demand was that the operators be willing to recognise the union of the men's free choice as a bargaining agency in accordance with the specific and explicit recommendations of the government's own order in council 2685. In other words, if the operators had been willing to sit round a conference table with the men's representatives and had attempted to iron out the difficulties with them, there would have been no strike.

The employers refused, and went on refusing. They refused even to meet in the same room with the men at Ottawa. The government did nothing.Appealed to again and again, the prime minister said he could do nothing. And even after three months of strike he even refused to intervene to guarantee that seniority rights be respected if and when the men went back to work, and that there be no victimisation. The crowning indignity came when the local union president found that he had been fired for taking time off two days before the strike. *The time he took off was to go to Ottawa to confer with the government to avoid a strike if possible, at the government's own request.* To date, the government has not intervened on his behalf, though his dismissal is in clear contravention not only of P.C. 2685, but of sec. 502A of the criminal code as well, if that section means anything at all.

To interpret the attitude of the government throughout this dispute as weakness before powerful financial interests is to miss the whole point. It was completely consistent and unscrupulously deliberate. Never has Mr. King more clearly shown the murderous power of his talent for inaction. By doing nothing, and doing it very cleverly, he has given considerable help in weakening a union that had become a menace to the dictatorial powers of perhaps the most ruthless

group of monopolists in the country. When this same group forget themselves to the extent of opposing him in the political field, he is quite willing to teach them a lesson; but in the industrial field they are brothers under the skin.

The Kirkland Lake defeat teaches us another lesson: that we should not take too seriously the political differences between Mr. Hepburn and Mr. King. Here again, the little dictator at Queen's Park has to be soundly spanked now and again when he gets above himself in the political field; but when it comes to a struggle between masters and men in industry, all the Liberal chieftains stand solidly together. Hepburn, of course, is loudly vociferous; he shouts about the C.I.O.; he sends his special police up in force against the wishes of the local authorities, and then sends up his attorney-general to review his troops on the battlefield. Hepburn likes a fight in the limelight. Mackenzie King moves more subtly and darkly. He does not appear. He says nothing. He does nothing. But in the end it is not Hepburn's noisy antics, it is Mackenzie King's deathly silence and inaction that break a strike.

And mark this well, you industrial workers, how *all* the parts of the Liberal machine work in unison against you! How an Arthur Roebuck comes down to castigate Hepburn in the South York by-election but how even he—the man who resigned from Hepburn's cabinet over a question of union recognition in Oshawa in 1937—does not hesitate to speak for Humphrey Mitchell in Welland at the very time when the same Mitchell is trying hard to break a union at Kirkland Lake. Yes, mark it well. They may fall out politically, these Liberals, but when it comes to fighting Labor, they present a solid front—and the leader of them all is still the blank-faced, smooth-voiced Ottawa sphinx. One can only hope that the cries of miners' children, hungry because of his criminal inaction, haunt his dreams of nights.



Canadian Nationalism and the War

F. R. Scott

DURING THE LAST WORLD WAR the late Mr. J. S. Ewart—a prophet of constitutional change whose stature grows in perspective—surveyed the Canadian scene, and lost heart. He had preached and written for years that Canada would never be a nation in the true sense of the word, and would never shake off her colonial habits, unless she got rid of her colonial status. "Discontented with the political subordination of Canada," he wrote in 1917 "anxious that she should cease to be 'an adjunct even of the British Empire' (Sir Robert Borden's phrase); longing for her elevation to respectability, I have for some years, through the *Kingdom Papers*, urged our assumption of the status of an internationally recognized state, but with the retention of the present king of Canada." He had been advocating, in other words, exactly what was decided upon at the Imperial Conference of 1926, thus anticipating the whole of the later constitutional development.

Mr. Ewart, however, thought he saw in the war years a growth of the Canadian subservience which he so detested. He went on to say

"But for the war, the violent access of imperialism which it had precipitated, and the synchronization of an imperialistic Canadian government, I still think that Sir John A. Macdonald's desire for a "Kingdom of Canada" as "a great nationality commanding the respect of the world" could have been realized. Now it cannot. We have sunk back into colonialism. We are being treated as children, and we are submitting to the treatment."

So strong was his disappointment that he threw overboard the whole idea of the Kingdom of Canada for which he had so long striven, and openly proclaimed the Republic of Canada. Nothing less, he felt, would make Canadians responsible masters of their own destiny. Little did he realize that the apparently unobtainable relationship of "independent kingdom" under the joint crown was but a few years away.

Surveying the intervening years from the point of view of another world war, we may ask ourselves how useful the change from dominion to national status has been. Has it really increased the stature of Canada? Internationally, at least, we must admit there has been real growth, marked by the various steps towards full participation in world affairs with which we are all familiar. J. S. Ewart lived to see Canada's membership in the League, her acquisition of the treaty-making power, the appointment of ministers abroad, the

ending of dominion legislative subordination by the Statute of Westminster. He claimed for Canada an independent right to the making of war and peace, though he did not live to see Canada's separate declaration of war in September, 1939. He saw most of the things happen which he, a lone and frequently unwelcome voice in the Canada of the early twentieth century, had so vigorously forecast.

Yet something is lacking in the national growth of Canada, that is clear. The forms of independence are one thing; the spirit another. Can it be truly said that Canadians have risen to their new responsibilities? Have they put their own content into the new framework? Is there yet a *Canadian* concept of our foreign policy, a *Canadian* contribution to world affairs. Even in domestic matters, have we had a clear vision of the kind of country we were trying to create? Can anyone, looking at the Canada of the 1930's, feel that the mere addition of the trappings of independence had made a marked difference in Canadian behavior? During that disruptive decade our chief domestic policy was one of opposing and delaying social reform, our foreign policy was one of supporting British Tories in every move to prevent collective action by the League. The Statute of Westminster made no change in the Liberal and Conservative parties. And the same men who stood by these two policies are governing us still.

Since the war began Canada has worked miracles in terms of creating the weapons of war. No one can deny the importance of the physical contribution Canada is making to the allied war effort. But wherever a question of policy enters into the picture, Canada fails to play an active part. We show very few signs of having a war policy, other than that of being a base of supplies. Yet policy is going to be a major factor in winning this war, and every contribution to it is a vital part of the war effort.

Examples of our lack of policy, our semi-colonial position, confront us on every hand.

The United States is using all its efforts to organize the western hemisphere to oppose Canada's enemies. Are we helping? Are we contributing our support to the democratic forces of Latin America? We are not. We sit entirely aloof, as though what went on near or below the Panama canal was no concern of ours. Our government

tries to tell Canadians that this is a war for the defence of Canada, and then shows itself completely indifferent to the results of Nazi intrigue in this hemisphere. We have not even placed a Canadian minister in Mexico, a country having a joint defense agreement with the United States similar to our own. And our aloofness from Pan-America is directly due to our membership in the British Commonwealth. The Commonwealth thus interferes with our war effort at this point, by restricting it to effort in places where Britain is the country primarily interested. The prime minister was quite accurate in calling his book of war speeches "Canada at Britain's Side."

Again, the Atlantic Charter was proclaimed in August, 1941, and became the Joint Allied Agreement by the adhesion of twenty-six nations in January, 1942. *This is the most important event since this war started to indicate that the Allies, too, are fighting for a new world order, and not just for self-preservation.* It was clearly United States influence that brought about the pronouncement. Canada has never insisted, as she should have done during the previous two years of war, that the British Commonwealth ought to give the world some leadership by formulating post war aims. We in Canada are not hard pressed by the enemy, as is Great Britain, and are not actively engaged in distant campaigns. We have the opportunity for calm thinking and the longer range view. We are close to United States and Latin American opinion. Our role should be particularly one of helping to mobilize world opinion round a great central idea. We should be one of the Allies constantly promoting international collaboration. We should use our influence now to see that the tentative moves already made are followed by new steps to implement the Charter principles. Yet the very suggestion of Canadian action on this kind of matter has only to be made to be rejected as romantic with our present political leadership.

Internal policy does not cease to be relevant to war effort. How a country treats its own people during a war largely determines their contribution, and is a guide to its future policy in international affairs. Britain has gained a great deal of world approval and internal strength by her increased attention to the needs and rights of the common man since the war started. Can we in Canada point to a single piece of social reform? Have we done anything which would make foreigners say that Canadian democracy is really alive? Unemployment insurance has been granted, true—but the Liberal party promised us that in 1919. It is a puny and, since full employment must be our future policy, probably a superfluous change. We

still have gross inequalities of wealth, we have frozen unjust wage levels, and we leave Labor almost entirely out of our national controls. Worst of all, the government tolerates employers' opposition to trades unionism. Canada's national consciousness can never grow while internal divisions are kept alive by class rule and class privileges. Our domination by capitalist ideas and values has not been changed by the Statute of Westminster. We ought to be stimulating the democratic faith in Canada and outside by positive social democratic action *while the war is on*, if we want to give leadership in this period of world revolution.

On Jan. 28 Mr. Coldwell asked Mr. King, in the House of Commons, whether it was true that St. Pierre-Miquelon were to be neutralized and that Canada was to guarantee their security. This was, one might suppose, a matter of some interest to Canadians. Obviously a new status for the islands was being decided upon. They are right at our front door, and are in the hands of a country with whom we still have relations. What was Mr. King's reply? He said

"I shall be pleased to give the house a statement in the matter as soon as I am advised by the governments of Great Britain and the United States that so far as they are concerned it will be quite satisfactory that a statement on which they are agreed can be made in the Canadian House of Commons."

This surely is one of the choicest examples of Canadian negativism. Mr. King has achieved the miracle of a dual colonialism. The statement is an admirable commentary on the political career of the man who used it, and convincing proof that more than the Statute of Westminster is going to be necessary to make Canada a nation. Meanwhile we wait in docile expectancy to learn in due course whether free France or slave France will control two islands off our shores.

Let us take another example, from the Hansard of the same day. Mr. King was discussing the important question of an Imperial War Council. So far in this war the British cabinet has, for obvious reasons, been making all the major decisions, and the dominions have enjoyed what is called "consultation." In repeating the proposal for a properly constituted joint Imperial body, Mr. King said

"Speaking for the Canadian government, I may say that the existing machinery for consultation between not only the governments of Great Britain and Canada but also between Canada and the governments of the other dominions has, in our opinion, worked exceedingly well."

Yet in the very next column of Hansard he is reported to have said to Mr. H. C. Green, who

wanted to know whether Canada was to be represented in the proposed Pacific defense council, negotiations for which were stated by Mr. Churchill to be under way,

"I might say that such information as I have about the proposed Pacific council is what I read in Mr. Churchill's speech of yesterday."

Canada's premier, it appears, reads in the newspapers of movements to establish joint Allied machinery in areas in which Canadian troops have been fighting. Yet this occurs while the system of "consultation" has "worked exceedingly well." No doubt, if preference for consultation rather than joint machinery is based on a desire to escape direct responsibility, Mr. King's choice is well made.

There is one form of nationalism which this war must end. That is the nationalism which insists on selfish advantage at the expense of world collaboration, the nationalism of assertive sovereignty and

of "my country right or wrong." There is another kind of nationalism which this war must increase or we shall have lost it. This is the nationalism which is no more than the right of free expression and self-development for each portion of the human race. This is what Germany and Japan have destroyed by invading other countries, and the restoration of which we are pledged to secure. Canadians are almost as silent about world affairs and Allied policy as if they were already occupied by an enemy. In trying to solve world problems ourselves, instead of merely promising collaboration with other countries that are trying to solve them, we are not being nationalistic in the bad sense but in the good sense. In contributing to policy as well as to armaments we are helping, not hindering, the war effort. This is the kind of nationalism that is still lagging in Canada, despite all our talk of status.

Argentina's Diplomatic Victory

John P. Humphrey

ON JUNE 22, 1940, France signed an armistice with Germany, an act the repercussions of which were felt in every corner of the world. In the Americas, it precipitated the Second Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers which met at Havana on July 21 to 30. For the first time since Louis Napoleon's invasion of Mexico, the American nations were faced with the possibility of an invasion of the western hemisphere. It was in these circumstances that the American foreign ministers solemnly declared that "any attempt on the part of a non-American state against the integrity or the inviolability of the territory, the sovereignty or the political independence of an American state shall be considered as an act of aggression against the states which sign this declaration."

The declaration did not take the form of a treaty, nor was it ever submitted for the approval of the legislative assemblies of the signatories. It did not create a binding obligation in international law. Moreover, the only positive action that the foreign ministers said that their countries would undertake in the event of aggression was to "consult among themselves in order to agree upon the measure it may be advisable to take." But despite its informal character, the declaration was meant to be a manifestation of inter-American solidarity in the face of the threat from overseas:

it was meant to serve as a warning that any attack on the western hemisphere would be met by the concerted action of all the republics.

On Dec. 7, 1941, Japan attacked the United States. The bombing of Pearl Harbor was as much an attack on the western hemisphere as if the Japanese bombs had fallen on the docks of San Francisco. What would the other twenty American republics do? How would they interpret and implement the Havana declaration? The answer of some of them was quick and unequivocal. Nine of them—all near neighbors of the United States—immediately declared war on Japan. Three others, Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela, broke off diplomatic relations. But the eight southernmost republics took no immediate action, although some of them said that they would not treat the United States as a belligerent, a fiction which was calculated to make it possible for that country to use their ports without being subject to the restrictions imposed on belligerents by the traditional rules of international law governing the duties of neutrals. Generally speaking, the support which the Latin American republics gave to the principle of inter-American solidarity was in inverse relation to their distance from the United States.

Both the Havana resolution and the Buenos Aires Consultative Pact (which had been adopted at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance

of Peace in 1936) provided for the calling of a consultative meeting of foreign ministers in the event of the security of the hemisphere being menaced. Two of these consultative meetings had already been held: the first at Panama in September, 1939, and the Havana Meeting already mentioned. It was decided to hold a third consultative meeting at Rio de Janeiro on Jan. 15, at which an energetic manifestation of inter-American solidarity could be made. The Dominican Republic, one of the close neighbors of the United States that had declared war on Japan, announced that it would propose that all the republics join in a declaration of war against the axis. It was clear, however, that this proposal would not receive unanimous support. The efforts of the United States, Mexican and other delegates were directed therefore towards obtaining a joint rupture of relations with the axis. The formal proposal to that end was actually sponsored by Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela which were the three countries that had already broken off relations but not declared war. The break would be no idle gesture; for it was well known that the axis powers were using their diplomatic and other agents in Latin America to stir up domestic disorder, to propagandize the "new order," and to discredit the United Nations. In so far as the original resolution also contemplated the breaking of economic relations as well, it was also a proposal for an application of economic sanctions. But above all, it would have been, if spontaneously agreed to, an energetic manifestation of inter-American solidarity.

That the twenty Latin American republics would break off relations with the axis powers was the least that the United States was entitled to expect. But even before the conference met it was evident that there would be no spontaneous action. That was ruled out first by the attitude of Argentina and Chile and second by the still unsettled Ecuador-Peru boundary dispute.

Under the leadership of Acting President Ramon S. Castillo and Foreign Minister Enrique de Ruiz Guinazu, the Argentine Republic announced that it could not join in any rupture of relations with the axis. The reasons for this attitude were both strategic and psychological. Argentina, her spokesmen said, was far removed from the protection of the United States fleet. If the axis powers chose to treat a rupture of relations as a belligerent act, she would be drawn into a war for which she was not prepared, and her coasts and shipping would be at the mercy of German raiders. More fundamental than this, perhaps, was the fact that Argentina is completely dependent on its export trade; and, in normal times, most of her exports go to Europe.

The Argentine government does not want to do anything now that might prejudice her export trade after the war. It is still trying, in other words, to sit on the fence.

The psychological reasons for the Argentine attitude are equally clear. There still remains in Argentina as in other parts of Latin America a vestige of the anti-Yankee sentiment which characterized the Latin American attitude towards Pan Americanism before 1933 and President Roosevelt's enunciation of the Good Neighbor policy. Argentina, moreover, has quasi-imperialist ambitions. The strongest state in South America, she would like to lead a Latin bloc in the western hemisphere. This ambition has inevitably brought her into conflict with the United States, which has been the unrivalled leader in the Pan American movement since 1889 when the First International Conference of American States met in Washington. Argentina's record at the Pan American conferences since the first Great War has been one of almost uninterrupted opposition to the United States.

There were also strategic and other reasons why Foreign Minister Juan B. Rosetti of Chile did not support the original severance resolution. There is no country in the Americas which is more exposed than Chile. One has only to look at the map to see that she is a country of immense length but no breadth. She has one of the longest coast lines in the world—and very little navy to protect it. Before jumping into the general *mélée*, therefore, her leaders wanted some solid guarantees from the United States. The objections based on their strategic position advanced by both Argentina and Chile betray themselves on analysis as a variety of appeasement; and the confidence which they exhibit in the traditional rules of neutrality is not without its naivety. Neutrality in previous wars afforded the neutral a measure of protection. In the second World War it means nothing. The axis powers will attack the South American coast lines when and if it suits their purposes to do so, and this whether relations are ruptured or not. This is one of the most elementary lessons of two and a half years of war; but it is a lesson that some people apparently have still to learn.

There were other reasons for Chile's caution that were purely domestic. Because of the death of her president, she was about to hold presidential elections. In Latin America, such contests were apt to be even more disruptive than they are in the north. It is not difficult to understand why the Chilean government should have hesitated before accepting new commitments at such a time. It is generally thought that now that the popular front

candidate, Juan Antonio Rios, has been safely installed in office, Chile will not long delay breaking off relations with the axis.

The third nut to crack at Rio de Janeiro was the boundary dispute between Peru and Ecuador. This dispute has a long history. Last summer it blew up, and provided the western hemisphere with its first inter-American hostilities since the Chaco war; and when the Rio conference opened, the Peruvians were still in possession of territory claimed by Ecuador. The Ecuadorians felt that they had been quite as much the victims of an aggression as the United States had been at Pearl Harbor; and they announced that they would not take part in the discussions until the Peruvians had retired to their own territory. As a matter of fact, the Ecuadorian representative took his seat on Jan. 17; and before the conference ended Peru and Ecuador were to settle their difference, although the adjournment of the conference and the signing of the Final Act had to be postponed for a day until their agreement was finally reached.

The deadlock brought about by Argentina and Chile lasted until the night of January 21, when it was announced that agreement had been reached on a new draft resolution. Each of the republics, the new draft said, would act according to its own constitutional procedure in breaking off relations with the axis. The proposed change meant nothing, because the republics would have had to follow their constitutional practice in any event, whatever the resolution said. The important thing was that the resolution still stated that the American republics could not maintain relations with the axis. It looked as if the two southern republics had made an important concession, and that the proposed change was a face-saving device. This, indeed, is what must have happened in the case of Chile, because her government immediately instructed its representative to support the resolution in its new form. It soon appeared, however, that the Argentine government had not changed its attitude and that it was making no concessions to the principle of inter-American solidarity. On Jan. 22, Acting President Castillo instructed de Ruiz Guinazu to request a further revision. The Argentines wanted the resolution to state that the republics "may not be able to continue" relations with the axis. In the meantime, Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the foreign relations committee of the United States senate, had made a bombastic speech in which he said that "we are trusting that before the meeting at Rio is over, Mr. Castillo will change his mind or the Argentines will change their president." Castillo is reported to have said

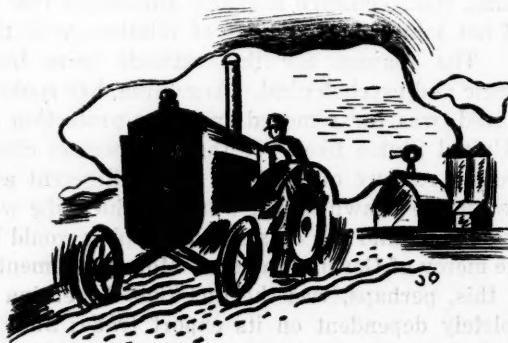
that this outburst was not a factor in deciding him to reject the draft of Jan. 21.

A plenary meeting of the defence committee was immediately called to consider the Argentine request; and on Jan. 23 the twenty-one republics agreed that the resolution would go no further than to recommend a rupture of relations. It was in this form that the resolution was included in the Final Act which was signed by all the republics. A certain Argentine newspaper said that Argentina had gained a great diplomatic victory. Perhaps, if diplomacy were like chess, a game without consequences on the lives and happiness of millions of men and women. But the Argentine victory—if such it was—was an inter-American defeat. This does not mean that the Rio Conference was a complete failure. Important work was done towards the economic integration of the hemisphere; and notwithstanding the compromise on the severance resolution, nineteen American republics have either broken off relations with the axis powers or declared war on them.

Strongman

Nightfall and the cold
Wandering of the mind,
Ice-incubated;
The thaw too painful
And the quick surge
Soured in vinegar.
Darkness for unmasking
But the mask is
Fleshbound now
And underneath
The core is shrivelled.
Habit's damper for the wistful heat
And through the coat
The beat
Ticks on to nothing.

LIEUT. H. H. CARTER, R.C.A.



The Church and the Social Order

W. Lyndon Smith

(The following article is a slightly abbreviated version of an address delivered before The Workers' Educational Association by W. Lyndon Smith.)

IN THE FIRST PLACE, it must be remembered that the church is concerned with real people and with real things. There are religions which teach that ultimately the soul will lose itself in the great spiritual being which is called God: this means that such religions are not concerned with real people. There are also religions which teach that the material world (or what we like to call the material world) is an illusion: this means that such religions are not concerned with real things.

Every religion must learn to find God somewhere. He may be found in the forces of Nature; or he may be found in the patron deity of the tribe, the nation, or the empire; or he may be found in the laws which men believe govern the universe. Christianity finds him in a living man. The Christian learns to see God most clearly in the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth: that is what the Christian means by revelation. The Christian believes that in that life and death can be found the secret of deliverance from the evils which beset men: that is what the Christian means by redemption.

It is this act of faith which comes first in any program that can be called Christian. It comes first because some act of faith must precede any course of action; and consequently a Christian act of faith must precede any Christian course of action. It is because the Christian believes in the will of God that he has the confidence that this will cannot ultimately be denied. It is because the Christian believes in the wills of men that he is concerned with what men do to bring their wills into harmony with the will of God.

Happiness ought to be looked upon as the normal state of a person's life. That does not mean that everyone is happy; but it does mean that everyone ought to be happy. Christianity is not concerned to deny this: on the contrary, it is concerned with asserting it. Because the Christian knows that men, by and large, are not happy, he knows that this is not as God planned it to be, and he calls the source of unhappiness evil. Because the Christian believes that the will of God cannot finally be thwarted, he also believes that man may attain to his real happiness in the end, and this process he calls the way of salvation.

There seem to be two conditions that are necessary for a man to reach happiness. The first is that he should be able to surrender himself to some power that is greater than himself. The second is that by this surrender he should not cease to exist, but, on the other hand, that he should really find himself. "He that would save his life will lose it, and he that would lose his life will find it."

Every great revolution in history has been accomplished because men have been willing to suffer and die for a cause. The man who knows of nothing that is worth dying for, at the same time will not know of anything that is worth living for. The suicide seeks a desperate way of escape from a life that is, in the strict sense of the words, not worth living, because there is nothing that he can find in it that is worth living for. All the pitiful absurdities of our society—the craving for drinks and drugs and thrills and more and better marriages—are only alternatives to suicide for the frustrated. The whole procedure might be summed up under one title—"opium."

Now the point I am trying to make is simply this: when any society no longer furnishes its members with a cause greater than their own private interests, that society tends to dry up, and break into bits, and blow away with the wind, like so much fine dust. It is no longer human, because it no longer furnishes real men and women with one of the prime conditions for their happiness. It is becoming false to life, and life has its revenge by withdrawing from it. Or you might say it has been false to God, and God has left it to perish by its own devices.

But the second condition I mentioned is no less important. "The man that loses his life shall find it." No sacrifice of life can appear worthwhile, unless you can persuade men that in some way they have bought immortality at the price of their sacrifice. The cause for which they are asked to risk their lives must be a cause which they believe will outlive them, and in whose victory by some mysterious alchemy they themselves will have a part.

When we speak about a "conflict of ideologies" we are talking like pedants. Ideas never fight. But men fight over ideas. They fight over ideas for the same reason that they fight over symbols—because the idea or the symbol stands for something that is vital—that is to say, something that has

meaning for their lives. When we talk about a conflict between "ways of life" we are getting nearer to the facts. Men fight for their lives: and strange as it may seem they die for their lives—literally, they die in order to live. There is no other reason for dying.

All the great religions and all the great philosophies have held that there is a Power which rules the world, and all life within the world, and that this Power is greater than the wills of individual men and women. But sometimes this belief acts as a spur to action and adds courage to living: and sometimes it acts as a drug to action and kills even the desire to live itself. The difference is not to be found in the form of words used. It is to be found in the nature of the belief itself, or rather in the nature of what is believed in. When men thought of God as a being with whom they could work and from whom they could draw the strength to live, their faith was a source of action. When they thought of God, or Fate, or the laws of the universe as something alien to themselves, indifferent to their hopes and fears, they gave up trying. In both cases they were behaving like human beings. Their actions followed their beliefs.

The Christian church believes in the will of God: in a purpose and power greater than ourselves which rules the world. It believes also in the wills of men: so that what they do believe, and what they do with their beliefs, really matters. It matters to them, and it matters to God. This business of human living is, in the Christian scheme of things, immensely important. But by life the Christian means living people, real people. Their lives are important, both to themselves and to the living God. And because God is living, and not a dead abstraction which is reached at the end of a dreary argument, his purposes are the purposes of real life, which (as has been pointed out already) is always the life of real people.

These facts must be kept in mind when we come to the social order. The social order, like the Sabbath, is made for man, and not man for the social order. Furthermore, that is true of everything in the social order—the law, the state, the economic system, the banks, the schools, the trade unions, the bar association, the medical council, and finally, of course, the church. If any of these institutions is failing to perform its functions, it needs to be checked up. If it can no longer perform its functions, it must be scrapped. That is the only way to treat a machine, and it is the only way to treat the social machinery.

Of course, there is always the temptation to make some institution divine, and clothe it with

what theologians call "the attributes of God." When that is done, it becomes sacrilege to touch it. That is the root of all idolatry. "The heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone." The modern heathen does not bow to anything so interesting as an image with a hundred arms. He bows down to a state which is, as the amiable German philosopher Hegel put it, "the divine idea as it appears on earth." But an idea can be as dangerous as an idol and be quite as much of a false god.

Mr. H. G. Wells somewhere tells of a savage who was trained to mind a machine, and ended by worshipping the machine and trying to offer it a human sacrifice. That is the natural end of all idolatry, including the idolatry which worships any or all social institutions. There was a time when property was too sacred to be touched, and the offender was put to death for it. In some countries still, where there may be little or no private property, human sacrifice is demanded when the taboo on what is called state property is infringed. There is no god more jealous than the little god which squats inside the machine.

One of the prime functions of the church is to keep clearly before the minds of men the true belief in God. It is therefore the duty of the church, for the soundest theological reasons, to warn men when they are lapsing into idolatry. It is God, and not the gods, who will bring salvation to man. The aim of the Christian religion is the salvation of men. A social order which does not recognize this is not a social order which the church has any right to recognize.

When we find conditions which scandalize the Christian conscience, we nearly always find them to be the result of principles which ought to scandalize the Christian intelligence. When sleepy children were dragged out to mind machines, or sent down before daylight into the darkness of the mines, the men who were responsible did not confess their sins and stand beating their breasts at the church doors. They professed to be acting according to principle.

But you cannot expect to run the world on principles that are not Christian, and produce results which are charmingly Christian. If a machine is made into a god, it will end by being an evil god, and probably a very bad machine. The justification of a machine is simply this: that it is a device which aids in the business of good living. If we use our machines to give leisure to living men and women, to open the way for them to a fuller and a freer life, then we are using them as they ought to be used. Our intelligence is an aid, not a hindrance, to life. But if we have cities crowded with all the

latest gadgets, and hungry children in our streets, our cities will stand under the judgment of God as surely as the doomed cities of the plain.

We sometimes speak of our Christian bodies as "communions." The most sacred rite is for most Christians a "communion." The church itself is a "community"—an "ecclesia." The wise men of the past spoke of society as the "res publica christiana"—the Christian commonwealth." But a commonwealth surely means what it says—a community in which the gifts of God are available for all. Wealth means well-being, and a commonwealth means well-being shared by all its members. A society which thinks of "wealth" as something which must be taken from many in order to be enjoyed by a few, doesn't understand what "wealth" really is.

What is called the "social order" is a device for providing the external conditions necessary for living the good life. If one has defective ideas about the kind of life which is desired, the devices will be defective as well. If one has partial or distorted theories about the nature and the destiny of the human beings—the men and women and children—who make up any society, the social order will be one-sided and distorted also. Put all the emphasis on the physical side—that is, on the body—and you may get a society of robust and regimented morons. Put all the emphasis on the spiritual side—that is, on the soul—and you may get a society of dyspeptic doctrinaires. Christianity has avoided trying to separate soul and body—that is essentially a pagan trick. The real enemies of Christianity are not "materialism" and "naturalism." The real enemies are different kinds of "idealism" with the wrong kind of ideas. Even what we call "materialism" is not dangerous because it deals with real things and considers them to be important—and by real things I mean loaves of bread and bottles of wine and suits of clothes. "Materialism" is dangerous because it talks about an idea called "matter" and uses that idea in a way which often destroys all the meaning in real things and kills the life in real people.

This brings us back to our starting point. If the church is interested in the well-being of real people—and that is the reason why the church exists—it cannot be uninterested in the social machinery which helps them to live. A society which assumes that there must be masses of real people who lack food and clothing and education and fresh air and sunlight and leisure and the opportunities to lead a Christian life is not a society designed for real people at all, as Christianity understands them. A society which at the same time wastes its food and its natural resources because these cannot be used properly under a set of fashionable theories, is not a society which

understands the nature and meaning of real things in a real world, as Christianity understands *them*: It is necessary for the church to speak clearly in a social order which likes to call itself Christian, because obviously such a society cannot be run on principles that contradict the Christian faith, and still keep the Christian name. If the church speaks first to professing Christians, that does not mean that it gives unqualified admiration to societies elsewhere, organized by non-Christian people in accordance with non-Christian theories. It merely means that clarity in thinking, like charity in action, ought to begin at home.

O Canada

BARGE SOLD FOR \$20

Acting Public Works Minister Herbert Anscomb has informed the legislature, in reply to questions from Herbert Herridge, CCF, Rossland-Trail, that the Big Bend Cedar Pole Company purchased a ferry barge on the Arrow Lakes from the government for \$20.

The government has rented a barge on the Arrow Lakes, Mr. Anscomb said, from the Big Bend Cedar Pole Company as a substitute ferry at \$8 a day for 20 days.

(Victoria Daily Times, Feb. 3)

Patrick O'Hara, who, during a scuffle on Douglas Street early Sunday morning, whipped a half-full whiskey bottle out of his hip pocket and broke it over the head of a sailor, was found guilty of assault, causing actual bodily harm in City Police Court today and fined \$25. The sailor had to have three stitches in a cut over his right eye. O'Hara said he didn't know how it could have happened because he usually drank rum. "I don't remember nothin'," he told the court.

(Victoria Daily Times, Feb. 3)

Montague A. Clark, of Detroit, manager of industrial relations of the United States Rubber Company, addressing the Essex-Kent Safety Association, stated that he was not against unions, but that he sincerely believed, because of unionism, the attention of the many workers was not on their work. He said at one time the worker thinks about the coming union meeting, and then his mind wanders still further from his work and he thinks of his unpaid dues, or John Smith's request for a loan so that he can pay his dues. It is during these intervals that employees are injured, he stated. . . . "We must keep in contact with these workers," he continued, "and must keep reminding them of the dangers they face when entering the plant with this confused mind."

(Windsor Daily Star, Jan. 27)

T. A. Love, Conservative, Grand Forks-Greenwood, in his maiden speech in the legislature Tuesday advocated that the Securities Frauds Prevention Act be torn from B.C. statute books. "A mere promise to revise or amend this legislation that has been the medium through which gold mining and other forms of mining activity in British Columbia have been all but killed, would not satisfy the mining fraternity of this province," Mr. Love said.

(Victoria Daily Times, Jan. 31)

This month's prize of a six months' subscription goes to Mrs. K. McAllister, Victoria, B.C. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication from which taken.

Tobacco Road -- Ontario Version

R. E. K. Pemberton

IN AN ARTICLE some time ago I mentioned that in 1940 many Ontario tobacco-growers had revolted against marketing conditions in their industry and had formed a co-operative of their own. After a bare glance at the situation which produced this revolt, I will attempt to discuss the highlights of the tobacco-farmers' experience since that date.

The average price received by the grower-members of the marketing board for the 1940 crop was a fraction over 20 cents per pound. ('Received,' by the way, seems to be an ambiguous term: I had it on good authority a few weeks ago that growers had up to that date actually fingered only a little over half of the money for their crop of 1939!) This price was completely out of line with the costs of production and in effect involved penury for many of the farmers concerned. Hence the revolt: of which the formation of the co-operative was only one expression. The members' annual meeting of the marketing board, for example, resulted in a near-riot. Many members complained of the treatment they were receiving. Loud objections were raised to an executive proposal to donate \$7,500 to the chairman, A. Leitch, for alleged services to the industry. Leitch absolutely refused to resign it. He was bitterly heckled by members of the audience including women. The executive's financial statement was left in thin air, and, according to my best information, it is suspended there still . . . The police were called in . . .

The situation since then has developed to the further disadvantage of the primary producer. Feelings are tense and bitter. Poverty, even destitution, has overtaken many more. Leitch is still chairman . . .

The marketing board is supposed to represent, and does nominally represent, all interests concerned with tobacco, the chief of which are, of course, the growers and the buyers. Take an example of the actual representation: from a district I know of—and this condition is naturally duplicated elsewhere—there sit on the board a prominent grower and an able and highly-placed executive of one of the one or two buying concerns that count. Each of these representatives has an equal vote. But on the latter will likely depend in a decisive measure the former's chance of selling his crop to advantage, or even of selling it at all. How often, do you suppose, does he feel able to vote against the

representative of the corporation? Capitalism has made cowards of us all.

In 1941 growers were advised in some sections to produce less; in others, more. The crop proved to be a good one, in spite of great loss through hail in certain parts. World-conditions, including a drastic depletion of inventories as a result of war-time destruction, gradually made it apparent that there was going to be a seller's market. Prospects for the farmer were for once good: a price anywhere between 25 and 30 cents a pound was confidently expected, and expected with good reason . . .

What happened? In the United States all prognostications were justified. Prices rose by leaps and bounds. In Ontario . . . ? As early as September rumors began to circulate—the banks seem to have been the first to spread them—that marketing was going to be difficult, that the buyers—effectively, the big corporations—would probably not be able to absorb more than two-thirds of a crop that was half as large again, or more, than the 1940 yield. These warnings did not reach more than some of the growers: many of them are depressed beyond the point where they could have a bank-account. It is alleged that agents, drawing up to \$50 per week, furnished with a car and liberal running allowances, scoured every nook and cranny of the tobacco-districts, spreading, under guise of friendly tips, false warnings that the market would be poor . . . that it would be prudent to sell . . . if you could . . . I am acquainted with a grower of high standing who tells me that he knows many of these agents personally and well, what they were doing, what they were getting . . . Whose agents were they? Could you guess?

The pressure increased. It is reported that Leitch, along with two representatives of the buying corporations, visited Ottawa at a suitable time, with a view to obtaining a ceiling on the price to be paid. At any rate, Leitch issued a statement in the press that a ceiling had been established at 22½ cents. The government board was forced to issue a denial. But the damage—or was it the 'good work'?—had been done. The growers, with a crop on their hands, were by now scared stiff. And, if I am correctly informed, even after the official denial, agents were still going round insisting that there was a ceiling. (I wonder how many of the poorer growers read the *Globe and Mail* regularly, if at all.)

Next, after lengthy sessions, the marketing board set the price of 22½ cents. Meanwhile, prices in the United States were running much higher. Our press, however, did not report the United States prices. I wonder why? Do you?

The result? When buying commenced the deluded and helpless growers fell over themselves to sell as fast as they could. The sales were completed in record time. The whole crop was sold: not a bare two-thirds! Even the independent blacklisted growers—not members of the board—disposed of all their holdings without the slightest difficulty. Had there been anything but a world-shortage, they would have been unable to sell a cent's worth. And the average price realized by the whole flue-cured crop was less than 22 cents. And every item in the costs of production, fertilizer, fuel, horse-feed, above all labor, had risen and risen since the previous year. The deluded and helpless growers fell over themselves to sell, in a seller's market, at a price which, taking the increased costs into account, must be reckoned the lowest in the annals of the industry and which, even at its face value, was not much above half the world price.

We are told—and it has certainly been the general experience—that the domestic price of farm produce is determined by the world price; which seems to be regularly lower than what is needed to give the farmer a return that will meet his cost of production. Here in the tobacco-market of 1941 was a striking exception. The world price rose sharply. But it did not—would it not be fairer to say ‘was not allowed to?’—determine the domestic price. It would seem that the farmer is never to receive any advantage from the world price. When it is low, his is low too. When it is high, his is still low.

And the coöperative? It has been unable to sell one pound of the more than two million pounds handed over to it by member-growers late in 1940. It has incurred large obligations in respect of storage, insurance, and so on. Independent buyers everywhere seem afraid to touch its stuff. It is of good grade. It is redried by now and matured over a year. But independent buyers seem afraid to touch it! Not a bank in our democratic country, enjoying (?) all the competitive blessings (?) of laissez faire, seems willing to lend the co-op any money with which it might appease its creditors. Could you guess why? (In the United States any bank anywhere would lend 60 per cent. or more of the appraised value, without any collateral.) The co-op is under great pressure from its members. Many of them are at their wits' end for lack of money for the barest living. The unfortunates would be glad to sell at any price.

The only prices offered are by the big companies—who are so few. The best price offered would involve the growers in a ruinous loss. Corporations do not like coöperatives. There was another promising tobacco coöperative in Ontario some years ago. It passed on. Did it die, or was it murdered?

And the human aspect of the situation? Among the coöp growers I have met I remember one rather particularly. A stocky Hungarian he was, speaking poor English, shabbily dressed and smoking the end of a foul cigar. All his 1940 crop, he told me, a crop of over 20,000 pounds, was frozen in the coöperative. He hadn't received a cent for it. He was in urgent need of fifty dollars. (That crop, even at 20 cents, would have brought him \$4,000.) The coöp could not give him fifty dollars. His 1941 crop, he said, had been partly spoiled, partly ruined, by hail. Only about half of it could he sell at all, and that much at less than ten cents a pound. He showed me the receipt. He went on to say that he had lost his farm. He had no place to go. It seemed that he was on casual labor in Brantford . . .

And let me not forget this: The coöperative, over months, has applied to our provincial government, including the egregious Mr. Dewan, who is officially known as the minister of agriculture! It has applied for a loan—a mere matter of book-keeping—that would tide it over its difficulties. There is good precedent for such an accommodation. Less than ten years ago Col. Tom Kennedy, as provincial minister of agriculture, gave government assistance — identical in nature with that sought recently, only for a still larger sum—and did so with good results for all, including the provincial government. After months and months of pleading, with an excellent case, and with the markets howling of late for tobacco, the request of the coöperative was flatly turned down. I have seen Mr. Dewan's letter of Dec. 18 last, calmly recording the refusal. The letter of Mr. Dewan, of the Mr. Dewan who is never tired of verbally promoting coöperation among the farmers, who a short time ago, as I am informed on authority which I believe to be unimpeachable, assured executive members of the coöperative, at a meeting in Mr. Nixon's office at Queen's Park, that he agreed with them that the government guarantee which they sought would solve the whole problem and assure the marketing of the crop at a good price.

It is anyone's guess why the government did not come across.

What does it all mean? Buying interests, banks, the government, the press, have all operated to do the farmer out of a square deal and to depress

still further our declining rural economy. What can it all mean unless that we are in the grip of soulless and ruthless monopoly, monopoly that is base, destructive, damnable in the sight of God and of man?

Correspondence

The Editor
Canadian Forum.

Sir,

Of the general tone of your editorial, "Meighen Redivivus," I shall content myself with saying that it seems to me hardly up to your usual standard of dignity and fairness. But there are particular passages which call for more extended comment.

(1) You speak of the closure as having been "devised . . . in the last war." The relevance of mentioning closure at all is not clear, and the statement itself is incorrect. Closure was introduced early in 1913. (See Hansard, 1912-13, p. 7388.)

(2) You charge Mr. Meighen with "distributing the soldier ballots in the constituencies where they would do most good to the government." The Military Voters Act, 1917, section 3, distinctly provides that a soldier's vote shall be allocated to the constituency in which he states he formerly resided, and that, if he cannot indicate any such constituency, he himself shall decide where the vote is to go. Your statement therefore amounts to a charge that Mr. Meighen and his colleagues (including Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Crerar and Mr. Rowell) broke the law. Should you not produce evidence for so serious a charge?

(3) You assert that Mr. Meighen took office in 1926 "because he was too greedy for a victory at the moment . . . The Tories could not, even for a few weeks, suppress their eagerness to enjoy the spoils of office. They rushed in to support the governor-general's stand, only to find that they also had to ask him for a dissolution within a couple of days; and thereby they supplied Mr. King with a magnificent personal grievance and a plausible constitutional issue by which he was able . . . to fight the election on the favoritism of the English governor and the iniquity of the Meighen shadow cabinet."

These remarks appear to rest on an imperfect appreciation of the facts of the case. There were at least two plain and cogent reasons why it would have been utterly unconstitutional to grant Mr. King's request for dissolution on June 28, 1926. (a) He was asking for dissolution while a motion of censure was under debate. On the effect of this, see my article in your January issue, p. 298. (b) He was seeking to appeal from defeat in a newly elected House, elected under his own auspices, and when there was no great issue of public policy at stake, and an alternative government was possible. I challenge anyone to produce a single case, in the whole history of the British Empire, where dissolution was granted in such circumstances. Precedent, the overwhelming weight of authority (Peel, Russell, Gladstone, Asquith, Lloyd George, Simon, Bagehot, Todd, Courtney, Jenks, Marriott and Ramsay Muir), and common sense, alike are decisively against Mr. King. It is, in fact, perfectly possible to build up a damning case against him solely from the works of his own favorite authority,

Keith, who, for unexplained reasons, supported him in this instance.

Lord Byng's refusal of dissolution was not only constitutional but essential to the preservation of parliamentary government. Mr. Meighen had therefore no honorable alternative but to accept office. It was not a matter of "greed," "eagerness" or party "manoeuvres," but of public duty. To have declined would have been to side with Mr. King against the governor-general on a vital constitutional issue on which Mr. King was clearly wrong and the governor-general clearly right. Mr. Meighen refused to make himself an accomplice in an attempt to subvert the constitution.

True, within three days the Conservative government itself "had to ask for dissolution." But what happened in those three days? The House voted down, by a majority of 12, a Liberal sub-amendment to the Stevens amendment of censure on Mr. King's government; passed, by a majority of 10 in each case, the Stevens amendment and the amended report of the Customs committee; voted down, by a majority of 7, a Liberal motion of want of confidence in the new government's fiscal policy; and only then, by a majority of 1 (thanks to a broken pair, and with the prime minister's seat vacant), passed a motion condemning the form of the temporary government. After this there was of course no further alternative to a new general election, and the governor-general accordingly granted Mr. Meighen a dissolution. Mr. Meighen did not ask for dissolution while a motion of censure was pending; he did not seek to appeal from defeat in a House elected under his own auspices. There was no possible alternative government. His claim to dissolution rested therefore on grounds wholly different from Mr. King's, and was as incontestably constitutional as Mr. King's was unconstitutional.

In view of all this, what reason had Mr. King for any "personal grievance"? (What is the relevance of his personal grievances anyhow?) And what basis can you offer for the charge of "favoritism" against Lord Byng, a charge which even Keith, who stated it in terms of unprecedented violence in 1928, felt obliged to disclaim in 1938?

You speak also of the "iniquity" of Mr. Meighen's temporary government. What was iniquitous about it? There were 16 precedents, from almost every part of the British Empire, and ranging in date from 1856 to 1909. In one of these, a cabinet consisting entirely of ministers without portfolio held office for four years, in another for almost exactly one year, in several others for many months. I challenge anyone to produce one shred of evidence that the temporary cabinet of 1926 was in the slightest degree unconstitutional, let alone iniquitous. I have under my hand over thirty pages of evidence to the contrary.

(4) In regard to the customs scandal you blame Mr. Meighen because "he concentrated his attack upon the unfortunate Mr. Boivin, the French-Canadian minister of customs who had taken over a mess in his department and had not cleaned it up vigorously enough." Whom would you expect him to concentrate on? The minister of railways? The minister of agriculture? The motion under debate dealt with the customs department (which, incidentally, had been under a French-Canadian minister for some years). It attacked, in so many words, "the prime minister and the government," and Mr. Boivin's own action in the case of Moses Aziz. Mr. Boivin was a first-class debater; only a first-class debater who, in your words, "tore him to pieces," could make an effective reply. Do you seriously suggest that because Mr. Boivin was a French-Canadian Mr. Meighen should have treated him

(and presumably his predecessor) as if he were made of sugar?

(5) "The ultimate fact about Canadian politics is that a political leader who expects to collect votes outside of Toronto becomes a good deal like Mr. Mackenzie King." Does this apply to Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Coldwell? And where do geography, economics, class structure, and our relationships to Britain and the United States come in?

(6) You say that Mr. Meighen "had not ventured to appear" in Quebec "during the 1925 election." What does this mean? It sounds uncommonly like a charge that he was afraid. Actually, as everyone familiar with the political history of that time knows, he was kept out of Quebec by intrigues in his own party.

(7) Your quotation from the Winnipeg Free Press on the Hamilton speech, and your own remarks on that subject, are presumably intended to be pleasantries. I hope that anyone who may be inclined to take them in any other sense will ask himself by what stretch of the imagination the words "revolutionary, bolshevist, treasonable" can be applied to a proposal that a government should appeal to the electorate on a great public question, and will look up Mr. Meighen's defence of the Hamilton speech at the Winnipeg convention in October 1927—a defence which, as far as I know, no one to this hour has even tried to answer.

Mr. Meighen is our political opponent. No one can reasonably object to attacks on him or his policies or actions, nor to the use of vigorous language in such attacks. But even political opponents are entitled to have the case against them stated with fairness and accuracy (above all in a paper like the Forum, which prides itself on "reasoned discussion"). No party has suffered more from the contrary practice than the CCF; no party has more to gain by strict adherence to the highest possible standards of public discussion. In any campaign conducted along other lines, our opponents will have all the advantages, if only because they control most of the press. That, however, is not the most important reason for exercising restraint in this matter. The prime consideration is the interests of democracy itself, which can scarcely fail to suffer if public controversy is carried on without scrupulous regard for the justice which, traditionally, is extended even to the devil.

Yours truly,
Eugene Forsey.

Editorial Note—De mortuis nil nisi bonum. Having contributed our little bit to the burying of Mr. Meighen in South York, we are not particularly disposed to quarrel if Mr. Forsey now comes along to praise him. His letter is an article in itself and would require another article to answer it fully. Most of his points are on comparatively minor questions. He has not challenged our account of Mr. Meighen's record on social legislation or on the war issue. His main point is on the question of the 1926 crisis. As to this, we never said that Mr. King was constitutionally or morally justified in what he did; we said that he completely outmanoeuvred Mr. Meighen. Mr. Forsey replies that it wasn't a matter of manoeuvres at all, but that what really happened was that the noble knight-errant Meighen rescued the governor-general and the constitution from the nefarious schemes of King. This is to present a picture of 1926 which would make anyone who was in Ottawa at the time roar with laughter. Frankly, we think that his minute study of documents has momentarily destroyed his sense of humor and with it his sense of balance generally. It is not necessary, though we admit it is usual, for academic political

scientists to be more naive about the processes of actual politics than are newspapermen or politicians themselves. Mr. Forsey should supplement his reading of documents by talking to a few newspapermen and politicians, both about 1926 and about 1917.

Precedents on both sides of the question of the right of dissolution can be quoted ad nauseam. Mr. Forsey, before he commits himself irrevocably to the precedents on one side, should remind himself, as a radical, that beautiful pictures of the Crown saving the constitution from its advisers are dangerous; and that, generally speaking, the only safe doctrine for radicals to hold as to the powers of the Crown is the good old Whig doctrine that the Crown should follow the advice of its advisers. The Crown may some day, even in Canada, have radical advisers; it will always have Meighens eager to assist it in "saving the constitution."

And finally, if Mr. Forsey wishes to know what we think would have been a reasonable course for a man primarily interested in good government to follow in 1926, we would refer him to the speeches and votes of Mr. J. S. Woodsworth at that time. Mr. Woodsworth found himself driven to disagree with Mr. Meighen on every division that took place. And yet Mr. Forsey has the nerve to suggest that it is we who are casting aspersions on the good name of Mr. Woodsworth.

The Between Wars

Of course we were fools to love, the world being
what
it is and all that and our word so weak
against its scorn—but then we were born that;
torn from a blood soaked earth, sown of a bitter
seed,

crying from the first our disobedient cry
athirst for no wise security but
with a not inconsiderable why
on our lips tempting us to question such
muzzling laws as forbade us ever to kiss
unless that we were ringed and registered.
But I suppose we opposed this world this
prison because if we had never dared
to raise our lips and kiss between the bars—
who would have shaken the inauspicious stars?

JAMES WREFORD

"Total Effort"

'War Cry' for the "Globe and Mail,"
Mister Meighen and the Boys.

By Gad Sir,
We'll mutiny
And soon stir
Up unity.

FREDERICK VANBOEHMER

The Battle of the Air Masses -- Part I

Alvin Thiessen

"... The North and South-West wind striving together, the Weather being very thick, so that the Clouds encompassed the Hills . . ." Essays of naturel experiments made in the Academie del Cemento . . . , translated by Richard Waller. London, 1684.

THE LANGUAGE of meteorology is colored with military metaphor. The weather forecaster, surveying before him the weather map that shows the disposition of the air masses, watches an outbreak of polar air and observes its day to day progress across northern Canada, Saskatchewan and the Great Lakes, while from the Gulf of Mexico a tropical air mass moves forward along the valley of the Mississippi to Chicago and Detroit. Where the masses meet a front develops and becomes active. That is, there is precipitation of rain or snow.

In the weather situation described by Richard Waller the warm forces of the south will probably be overwhelmed by the cold air mass moving in from the north-west. If so, the clouds that encompass the hills will be rolled up, the wind will veer from south-west to north, and after a few parting claps of thunder and brief showers of rain, falling in large drops, the sky will clear, the temperature will drop and the barometer will rise sharply. The battle is over. North has won. The forecaster has understood the nature of the struggle, but unlike a general, he has been unable to do much about it.

Meteorologists, although they are thus constantly engaged in watching daily battles and plotting their hourly course, are remarkable for the spirit of coöperation nationally and internationally that their work demands and inspires. Except for astronomy, no science has been so conducive to international coöperation as meteorology. In order to produce a good weather map it is desirable to plot weather data obtained from as many observations as possible in at least one hemisphere of the earth (cut at the equator without reference to the Monroe Doctrine). These observations are taken at the same moment all over the world, and even though in war time the results are regarded as a military secret, it is utterly improbable that any country has changed what is known among weather men as the synoptic hour. Soon after the war is

over scientists will be able again to compare worldwide weather data, as the records are being kept and will be exchanged freely as before.

Even a forecast of weather conditions, one or two hours in advance, along an airplane route, requires accurate weather reports not only along the route, but preferably also from a large number of stations a thousand or more miles removed. That is why there are in Canada nearly one thousand observation stations from Aklavik to Anticosti, many of which report, four times a day, temperature, atmospheric pressure, humidity, and other weather information by radio and telegraph to the Toronto head office and to a number of forecast centres, from Victoria and Vancouver on the Pacific to Winnipeg on the prairies and Halifax and Newfoundland on the Atlantic. The safety of pilots and passengers on the Trans-Canada Airways, the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, and the Trans-Atlantic Bomber Ferry Service depends to a large extent upon the devotion to duty displayed by two thousand servants in Canada's national coöperative enterprise in the scientific investigation of weather.

Men of private means and public spirit bought their own meteorological instruments and kept weather records before national observatories were established. Explorers and missionaries, travellers and trading companies also occasionally kept records of observations. But it was not until the year 1854 during the Crimean War that a concerted effort was made to interpret weather observations with a view to making forecasts. At that time a strong storm arrived in the Black Sea and did considerable damage to the allied fleet, particularly to the French battleship *Henri IV*. An astronomer, Leverrier, had won international fame by computing the position of a hitherto unknown planet (Neptune), and Napoleon III apparently thought that if scientists could predict the whereabouts of planets, they should also be able to predict storms and weather. No network of weather bureaus existed at that time, but from the loss of existing observing stations Leverrier was able to plot the course, *post mortem*, of the Black Sea storm and to suggest that by extrapolation the course of the storm might have been predicted, particularly if there had been more observations.

The wave of enthusiasm created by these results led to the establishment in most countries of meteorological institutes and a network of observing stations. But storms are wayward and truth will be wooed. Pessimism succeeded enthusiasm and the beards of the prophets turned gray. The origin of storms remained a mystery of Job. Pressure maps, rainfall maps, climatological atlases, and

graphs of storm tracks were prepared; balloons and kites carrying instruments were used to obtain observations from the upper atmosphere; and the vast unoccupied wastes of the polar caps were explored to enhance our knowledge of the meteorology of these regions. The theoretical investigations of brilliant scientists during the pre-World War I period contain many interesting inferences that have not yet been fully evaluated. But to the researchers in that era the sea of air refused to yield its secrets.

The most fruitful period in the history of meteorology did not come until, during the years of World War I, Dr. V. Bjerknes and his brilliant Norwegian collaborators, in the seclusion of their then splendid isolation, formulated the theory of the polar front, the wave theory of cyclones, and the air-mass and frontal methods of weather forecasting.

In World War II meteorologists are reaping the reward to which for two decades' productive research they are entitled, as this, largely because of the service meteorologists are giving the R.A.F. and, no doubt, also the Luftwaffe, has been called a war of weather. Weather is military news, and the subject of allied blockade. The occupation of Norway had meteorological as well as strategic significance, and Hitler's cold feet on the steppes of Russia may mark a turning point in the history of the world.

The history of meteorology prior to the Crimean War falls conveniently into two periods: the first, a period of two milleniums, from the fifth century B.C. to the invention of the barometer, about 1650, and the second, a period of two centuries, from 1650 to 1850. It may come as a surprise to many of us that the first period was dominated by Aristotle, and that although for two thousand years his *Meteorologica* was used exclusively, at least in Europe, as the basis for all meteorological textbooks, no translation in English of Aristotle's meteorological writings is available. I believe, however, that the Harvard University Press has in hand the first English manuscript, being prepared for publication within a year or two.

Although it would not be right to suggest that during Aristotle's two milleniums no advance of significance was made in meteorology, it was not until instruments for the accurate measurement and comparison of weather data (instruments for the measurement of temperature, atmospheric pressure and humidity) that meteorology was changed from an art to a science. The two centuries that followed the invention of the barometer were marked by the development in rapid succession of new instruments that gave rise

to many important discoveries. But, on the whole, this period is characterized by statistical investigations.

The two quarter centuries after the Crimean War gave us, through the initiative of Napoleon III, a world-wide network of weather observation stations and the synoptic map. The Norwegians gave us the air mass theory and the frontal system of forecasting, that have resulted, during the two decades intervening World War I and World War II, in the most fruitful years of meteorological research. Three wars, then, have served as fairy godmother to the Cinderella of the sciences, which explains why the language of G.H.Q. colors the language of meteorologists.

Poetry Competition

Some of our readers may be interested to know of the dominion-wide poetry competition sponsored by the Poetry Society of Winnipeg. The contest is open to professional and non-professional writers in Canada and entries may be in any form of English verse. Three prizes of \$50.00, \$15.00 and \$10.00 respectively are offered. Further details may be obtained from the secretary, Mrs. N. A. McMillan, 129 Sherburn St., Winnipeg, Man.

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Distribution of Income in Ontario

Eugene Forsey

ONTARIO IS the heart of industrial Canada, the most populous and the most prosperous province in the Dominion. Its per capita income, always well above the Dominion average, rose faster during the pre-depression boom, fell less during the depression, and rose faster again during recovery. Taking 1926 as 100, and allowing for changes in the cost of living, Ontario's per capita income in 1929 was 113.5. By 1933 it had fallen to 81.4, a drop of over 28 per cent. In 1936 it was still below the 1926 level, in 1937-1939 slightly above it. In 1940 it reached 118.4, about four per cent. above the 1929 level.

How was this income distributed? Who bore the main burden of depression and reaped the first fruits of recovery? Figures published by the Rowell-Sirois Commission, supplemented by others furnished to the ill-fated Dominion-provincial conference and the annual census of industry, provide a partial answer. In what follows, all figures given allow for changes in cost of living.

Bond interest and dividends (apart from what went outside the province, and allowing for inter-company payments) reached their peak not in 1928, like farm income, nor in 1929, like wages, but in 1930, when they were nearly a third higher than in 1926, and over 12 per cent. higher than in 1929. In 1933 they were still 11 per cent. above 1926, and only about six per cent. below 1929, though nearly 16 per cent. below their own 1930 peak. In the same year, total wages in manufacturing were 21 per cent. *below* 1926 and 38 per cent. *below* 1929; net farm income, which had recovered slightly from its 1932 level, was over 56 per cent. *below* 1926 and almost 59 per cent. *below* 1929. Net farm income at the bottom of the agricultural depression was almost 65 per cent. *below* its own peak.

Bond interest and dividends reached a new high in 1937, almost 15 per cent. above 1929, and slightly above their own previous peak. In 1938 they were about 12 per cent. above 1929 and barely below 1930; total wages in manufacturing were slightly below 1929, and net farm income was almost 14 per cent. *below* its peak. Bond interest and dividends in 1940 were slightly lower than in 1938, but still more than 10 per cent. above 1929.

Net farm income, at its peak in 1928, was only about nine per cent. above 1926. In 1932, as we have seen, it was little more than a third of what it had been at the peak. At the same time, bond

interest and dividends were about 15 per cent. below their peak; salaries in manufacturing were about three per cent. below their peak; salaries in mining were barely below theirs. Net farm income in 1933-1934 was still less than half the peak figure; in 1939 it had recovered to about 88 per cent. of peak; in 1940 it had fallen off to about 85 per cent. of peak.

In 1926, net farm income was almost 180 per cent. of bond interest and dividends; in 1932 it was just over 61 per cent. From 1931 to 1935, inclusive, which were industry's bad years, it was never as large as bond interest and dividends, and in no year since has it touched 138 per cent. of bond interest and dividends. Where the whole farming population once got almost 80 per cent. *more* than the security-holders, for five years it got on the average about 20 per cent. *less*, and in 1940 it got only about 33 per cent. *more*.

Combined salaries and wages reached their pre-depression peak in 1929, at 124.3 per cent. of 1926. In 1933 they had fallen 23 per cent. from peak level. In 1936 they were still almost five per cent. below that peak; in 1937 they were about six per cent. *above* it; after a slight fall in 1938, they rose again slightly in 1939. In 1940 they stood at about 21 per cent. *above* 1929.

Salaries and wages separately are available, for the whole period, only for manufacturing and mining.

In manufacturing, total salaries rose continuously (except for a slight fall in 1930) till 1931, when they reached 133.6 per cent. of 1926. In 1933, they had fallen to about six per cent. below their own pre-depression peak, but were still almost two per cent. *above* 1929. In 1935, they reached a new peak, almost five per cent. *above* the old, and continued to rise each year after that till in 1938 they were over 27 per cent. *above* the old peak and nearly 39 per cent. *above* 1929. (Figures for 1939 and 1940 not available at the time and place of writing.) The relative stability of total salary bill during the depression is not surprising. Salary contracts are for relatively long terms, and the size of the salaried staff naturally does not vary with output to the extent that the wage earning force does. But the very considerable increases in total salary bill since 1935 are interesting.

Total wages in manufacturing reached their pre-depression peak in 1929 at 127 per cent. of 1926 (a rather higher figure than for salaries in the same year). In 1933 they were only 78.8 per cent. of 1926, or 62 per cent. of 1929—a striking contrast to the figures for salaries and for bond interest and dividends. The wage figures remained below the pre-depression peak till 1937, when they rose to

about five per cent. above it, falling off again in 1938 to about three per cent. below it.

In *mining*, as might be expected in view of the special factors at work, (notably the tremendous increase in gold mining even during the depression) the figures are markedly different from those in manufacturing. Total salaries reached a peak in 1931, at 133.1 per cent. of 1926, and about 15 per cent. above 1929. At their lowest, in 1933, they were still almost 12 per cent. above 1929, and only about three per cent. below 1931. In 1934, they were 11 per cent. above 1931, and they kept on going up till in 1938 they were 124.5 per cent. above 1926, 94.7 per cent. above 1929, and 68.7 per cent. above 1931, a very startling set of figures.

Contrast with this total *wages* in *mining*. They reached their pre-depression peak in 1929 at 131.6 per cent. of 1926; dropped off slightly in 1930 and 1931; reached a low in 1932, about 18 per cent. below 1929. In 1933 they had recovered to about eight per cent. below 1929. In 1934 they were almost 18 per cent. above 1929, and they continued to rise till in 1937 they touched 104 per cent. above 1929. This was the first year in which their increase over 1929 was greater than that of total salaries. In 1938, total wages fell off slightly to 202 per cent. of 1929, while total salaries rose slightly to 194.7 per cent. of 1929.

Combined salaries and wages in certain groups show interesting variations. In *banks and life insurance companies*, they reached a peak in 1932, at 145.6 per cent. of 1926. They fell to a low, in 1934, about 3 per cent. below this, and reached a new peak in 1939, slightly above 1932. The 1940 figure was 142.4 per cent. of 1926. This group as a whole therefore, enjoyed a quite extraordinary stability of income, though there may of course have been considerable variations within the group itself. Salaries and wages in *municipal education* were rather less stable: peak, 1932, at 146.9 per cent. of 1926; bottom, 1937, about 7 per cent. below this; recovery in 1939 to 140.6 per cent. of 1926; slump in 1940 to 137.3 per cent. of 1936.

Total salaries and wages of employees of *federal and provincial governments* reached a peak in 1931 of 144.4 percent of 1926; bottom, 1933, about five percent below this; new peak in 1934, at 159; further increases each year (except for a slight fall in 1936) till 1940, when they reached almost 204 percent of 1926, or 41 percent above their 1931 level. If we include municipal employees (apart from education), the figures are: 1931 at 134.2 percent of 1926; 1933 at 126.5; 1934 at 142.2; further increases each year (except for a slight fall in 1936) to 1940, at 171.6 percent of 1926.

In *retail and wholesale trade and services*, on the other hand, salaries and wages reached a peak

in 1929 at 125.2 percent of 1926; bottom in 1932, about 19 percent below this. In 1937 they were slightly above 1929, in 1940 about 5 percent above 1929.

For *steam railways*, the peak was in 1929, at 112 percent of 1926; bottom in 1933, 32 percent below this. In 1940, railway salaries and wages were still ten percent below 1929, and barely above 1926.

Taking *government employees, banks, insurance, municipal education and professional employees together*, we find a peak in 1931 of 130.4 percent of 1926; bottom in 1933, only three percent below this; and a 1940 figure 16 percent above 1931. On the other hand, for combined figures for salaries and wages in *farming, forestry, mining, manufacturing, steam railways, retail and wholesale trade and services, and construction by private contractors*, we find a peak in 1929 of 125.3 percent of 1926; bottom in 1933, almost 30 percent below this; a fresh peak in 1937, four percent above 1929; and, after a slight fall in 1938, further increases to 1940, when the figure stood at 21 percent above 1929.

For *individual enterprisers* (other than farmers), the figures for *retail and wholesale trade and services* closely follow those for combined salaries and wages in the industry. *Professional men and women working on own account* also fared about as well or ill as their employed brethren. Their takings reached a peak in 1929 at 121.2 percent of 1926; bottom, 1933, at about 15 percent below this; a new peak in 1937, barely above 1929; and a 1940 figure about seven percent above 1929. The most interesting figures are for *individual contractors in construction*: peak, 1929, at 152 percent of 1926; bottom, 1933, at little more than a quarter of 1929; continuing very low levels in 1934-1939 (never as much as half of 1929); and a 1940 figure still 44 percent below 1929. *Employees in construction (salary and wage earners combined)* fared better: peak in 1929, at 164 percent of 1926; 1931 at 143.6 percent of 1926; 1933 at barely over a third of 1929; 1934-1936 still at less than half of 1929; 1940 at about 85 percent of 1929.

Clearly, farmers and the construction industry took the worst beating in the depression; though the latter did vastly better in the years before 1929, and the farmers did better in the recovery period. Employees of financial enterprises, civil servants and teachers came off much better than those in what we ordinarily think of as trade and industry. Security holders enjoyed comparatively stable incomes throughout the period 1926-1940. Salary earners as a whole would appear to have lost little during the depression and to have

enjoyed a considerable increase since. Wage earners, except in mining, suffered severely during the depression, and down to 1940 probably received a smaller increase of income (in comparison with

pre-depression levels) than salary earners. Ontario, the richest province, has plenty to do before the mass of its citizens enjoy their fair share of the provincial income.

A Chance for Continental Integration

C. D. Watt

THE WAR FORTUNATELY has given idealism a chance again. We are all of us fighting to prevent a worse world; but at the same time most of us are determined to try to build a better world, a world of less social and economic injustice, free from the fear of strife. This is not going to be easy, but in many respects Canada should be in a special and favored position. No feeling of nationalism can ever blind us completely to the necessity of coöperation with the United States and the United Kingdom. Here is Canada's great chance, so often talked of, so little practised, of setting a shining example to the world.

The desired goal is friendly collaboration on an equal basis between nations, a friendly collaboration which must eventually be so close as to involve a mutual pooling of certain elements of sovereignty, not a transference from one nation to the other. Such a fabric must be built of many large and small projects of practical coöperation. Is the machinery which now operates, for instance, between Canada and the U.S. to implement wartime coöperation going to prove useful in the post war years, or may it on the other hand hinder our efforts? In many ways since the war we have come much closer to the U.S.; our strategy is united; our economic collaboration is extensive; we have set up numerous joint bodies, official and unofficial. Yet the reality of wartime coöperation is not as complete, if we take a long view, as is the appearance. In some fields we have erected barriers between Canada and the U.S. In others we have failed to remove existing barriers. Sometimes we have accepted a type of coöperation which is equivalent to an extension of American imperialism that includes Canada as a forty-ninth state.

The fault has not been all on one side; it must be shared equally by Canada and the U.S. Even in Canada, linked as she inevitably is with the U.S. and the U.K., habits of nationalism have been so hard to overcome that difficulties have arisen.

Has our comparatively recent attempt to develop a strong feeling of nationhood cut so deeply into our habits of mind as to make us associate, perhaps unconsciously, internationalism with colonialism?

It must also be admitted that the wartime development of the temporary civil service in Ottawa and Washington has been responsible in large measure for the failure to take a broad view. The business man has been introduced on a large scale, particularly in the Department of Munitions and Supply in Canada, and in the former Office of Production Management in the United States. He has been an essential cog in the success of production efforts. He has slashed through bureaucratic red tape and has gained results. But he has in the main retained the outlook of a man accustomed to think of his own interests first. He has infrequently considered the inter-relationship of government departments, and has even failed to recognize the effect of his decisions on other sections of his own department. Thus, for example, it was with the greatest of difficulty, through the efforts of a brilliant chairman, that the controllers appointed in the Department of Munitions and Supply were persuaded to act as a team in the Wartime Industries Control Board. Moreover the Canadian business man, drafted to Ottawa, has been very much an admirer of industry in the United States, and in approaching the OPM in Washington he has been very humble in admiration of the bigger business men there. He forgets that Canada, as a supplier of vital materials, aluminum, nickel, lead and copper, etc., is in an excellent bargaining position, and tends to accept the dictates of the American business man in OPM as to what we may or may not manufacture, what we may or may not export, without any necessary American reciprocal action.

So far this article has been couched in general terms. To demonstrate the difficulties that have been described, let us turn to the field of economic administration for specific examples of barriers between Canada and the United States—barriers which, it is true, are wartime structures but

which may prove difficult to remove after the war.

First of all, natural economic integration has been halted by a desire for self-sufficiency in some fields, a movement towards that very autarchy which Canada as an exporting nation so deplored in others. For example we are using hides in Canada, which normally would be considered uneconomic, and as a result are bringing in fewer American hides.

In other ways too the border has become more noticeable. Not only has the U.S. Department of Justice made it much more troublesome for Americans to come to Canada, but the Canadian Foreign Exchange Control Board has made it virtually impossible for Canadians to go to the U.S. Again, these restrictions were probably necessary at the time, but are going to be hard to lift. Gossip at the Foreign Exchange Control Board makes one wonder about the extent to which these restrictions will be eased even after the war.

Tariffs remain a completely unnecessary obstacle to the movement of essential goods between the two countries. The United States is the great sinner here. Canada at an early stage took steps to ensure that customs duties should in no wise hinder the movement to Canada of goods needed for defense purposes. Similar steps are now likely to be taken, through the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, on essential imports for civilian consumption. The U.S. has, however, been slow to move regarding her own high tariff walls, although it is understood that some action is pending.

A further barrier may well prove to be the policy of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board in regard to import subsidies, if the administrators appointed by the board obey their first natural impulses. For these lead them to think of the Canadian economy as a unit, rather than of the continental bloc formed by Canada and the U.S.

The picture, however, is not all dark. Valuable steps have been taken in the direction of integration. In given fields the U.S. is helping Canada greatly; in given fields Canada is helping the U.S. without question. The U.S. has approved our steel budget and promised us allocations. Parity of treatment has been accepted as the principle to govern the shipping needs and the export policies of both countries. Unfortunately most of these efforts are piecemeal, and not part of a broad pattern. Moreover, principles established are not always put into practice.

The difficulties described have been in part caused by Canada's shortage of American dollars; in part by the failure to think in terms of—much

less, implement—a comprehensive plan for the economic efforts of the continent.

Such planning as is appearing is not coming from the new and powerful Department of Munitions and Supply in Ottawa. It is coming from those offices long accustomed to problems of government which may proceed too slowly, but which do proceed more surely, with comprehension of all that is involved in the economic relations of Canada and the United States. Trade and commerce, finance, and, in particular, the Department of External Affairs are planning this broad pattern. It is understood, for example, that the Department of External Affairs has made considerable headway in the coördination of Canadian and American export policies. It is understood that the joint economic committees of Canada and the U.S. established by the prime minister and the president last spring are drawing a comprehensive plan which may be implemented by the Department of External Affairs. The joint war production committee has been established by recommendation of the economic committees and is working on the integration of industrial capacity and specifications. Other broad steps are reported under contemplation.

But progress has been too slow. On the one hand some critics claim that the joint economic committees are too academic and too slow-moving to be effective. On the other hand it is reported that Munitions and Supply has been the chief obstacle to real integration. If so, it is paradoxical that this organization, so proud of its close contacts with the U.S. should be hindering genuine widespread collaboration. It is certainly felt in other departments that Munitions and Supply is becoming a little government in itself, jealous of any attempt on the part of an outsider to formulate any policy which may include munitions and supply. Broad planning has in short been delayed or sabotaged; the only plans which that department has liked have been those which it launched and controlled; and these have not been extensive in the sense of this article. This is not intended to detract from the very real production accomplishments of the department, but it does suggest that a business men's department may in the long run pile up grief and headaches.

These difficulties must be ironed out. Complete coöperation on a widely planned basis is obviously essential not only to our war effort but to that of our Titan neighbor. This can and must be achieved without Canada slipping into the position of a forty-ninth state. It must be achieved if we are to be in a position to contribute effectively to any healthy post-war society of nations.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Group Medicine

THE DOCTORS MAYO: H. B. Clapesattle; Collins (Univ. of Minnesota Press); pp. 712; \$4.50.

THE LIVES of the Doctors Mayo, father and sons, span the period of the most rapid advance of medical knowledge. Their story should hold the interest of lay and medical readers alike for in it are traced not only the lives of three doctors, two of whom made their names household words in North America, but also the advance of medicine, to a lesser extent the growth of the middle west, and most significant of all the part which their times and environment played in leading the two younger Mayos to develop the well-integrated unit handling all phases of medicine which is the best example of group medicine on the continent.

Starting with the large general practice which their father William Worrall Mayo had built up, Will and Charlie Mayo, by virtue of the fact that at the time when the advent of antisepsis was making possible the surgical treatment of many hitherto incurable conditions they were the only competent surgeons in the populous but comparatively isolated area in which they were situated, built up a surgical practice unequalled in size on this continent. Using their opportunities to the full they steadily increased their skill by practice and frequent trips to the larger centers for study. Forced by the growth of their practice to seek assistance they gradually took into partnership a group of men, most of them diagnosticians, who formed the nucleus of the future Mayo Clinic. One of these, Henry S. Plummer, played a major role in changing the group from a partnership based principally on a surgical practice into the clinic which included all types of medical practice and in which the surgical cases finally became not the majority but a minority, placing surgery in its proper position of an adjunct, albeit a most important one, of general medicine. As the science of medicine grew, clinical laboratories were opened, and when those proved inadequate to handle both routine examinations and the laboratory side of the clinical investigations that many of the staff wished to pursue, research units for both clinical and scientific medical research were established. Finally, the Mayos gave the whole of their large invested fortune to set up the Mayo Foundation to be run by the University of Minnesota postgraduate school as a medical post-graduate training centre. The clinic continued as a unit for the private practice of group medicine but was converted into a charitable trust with no capital stock, the profits going to the improvement of the clinic and to the Mayo Foundation. The two brothers died within a few months of each other in 1939 but the organizations they established continue.

The author of "The Doctors Mayo" has produced a very human, interesting and relatively unbiased account of the lives of the three Mayos, giving a graphic account of "The Old Doctor's" practice in the pioneer days and showing plainly the manner in which his established practice and the fortunate circumstances of time and place contributed to the success of Dr. Will and Dr. Charlie Mayo in the successful establishment of their system of group medicine. This system while far from being the solution of the present-day problems of medical care

deserves careful study in order to determine whether or not this type of organization may be so modified as to be a useful unit in the social medicine of the future.

T. F. NICHOLSON

Bad Weather

STORM: George Stewart; Macmillan (Random House); pp. 349; \$3.00.

THIS IS THE FIRST TIME that a storm has become the heroine of a novel. Her name is Maria, and from the time of her birth somewhere off the coast of Japan until her death somewhere in America, her activities attract the anxious attention of the weather bureau and of a dozen other public services (offices of the telephone, telegraph, radio, railway, irrigation, flood control, highway patrol, aviation and electric power systems) whose lines of communication she wantonly, but without malice, disrupts. Little coincidences become fraught with far-reaching dramatic significance, and Maria makes her influence felt around a hemisphere in twelve exciting days. Quickly our sympathetic interest in a number of creatures, man and beast, is aroused and brought to a pitch of breathless excitement, while Maria and the weather bureau continue as two poles of reference, that tend to give artistic unity to the plot. The movement of the storm centre preceded by steady, continuous rain and snow storms, provides the theme for the main action, while the brief but more turbulent atmospheric disturbances that accompany the passage of a cold front, "a sight worth watching," behind the storm, provide a dramatic climax. The storm is amoral, and the heroic activity is that of the men engaged in keeping open the lines of communication. Their story is told with a simple, though self-conscious realism, none the less effective for having been so well learned. (George Stewart, the author of *Storm*, is a professor of English in the University of California, and he took two years to gather the knowledge that his experience in literature enabled him to turn to successful advantage in this novel.)

Whatever the source material used by the artist, whether it is Plutarch, used by Shakespeare when he portrayed Romans as Elizabethan Englishmen, or Holinshead, the wealth of historical knowledge accumulated in the mind of Scott or Thackeray, or, as here, the science of meteorology, the questions that concern the literary and aesthetic critic remain the same, although in the twentieth century they receive different emphasis than they did formerly. Goethe and Shelley have written about meteorological phenomena in a way that makes consideration of their scientific accuracy irrelevant, nor would it have deepened the poignancy of King Lear's "Rumble thy cyclone full," had Shakespeare known more meteorology. But a better informed public in matters of history and science is more critical and less ready to yield a willing suspension of disbelief. The twentieth century artist knows this. At least, Professor George Stewart of California and our Canadian Professor Pratt of Victoria University know this, and as the latter in *Brebeuf and His Brethren*, so the former in *Storm*, has availed himself of the knowledge of the experts. And just as Pratt has written well about Canadian history, so no professional

meteorologist has written better than Stewart about weather processes, nor with greater care for accuracy of fact and interpretation. And yet, it would be unfair to this first meteorological novel to say that it comes to us with a tale that will keep children from play and old men from the chimney corner merely to teach us to speak with more authority about the weather than we have been doing ever since the Greeks gave us a word for it. Although we look at pictures, listen to music, attend the performance of plays, and read poetry for the same reason that a farmer sows wheat; because we wish to derive benefit, for pleasure is beneficial to the soul as knowledge is to the mind, nevertheless, didacticism, whether of morals or science, is unwillingly received. And here, in *Storm*, we have a novel that many will find "a good thing," because it gives the expression on the face of science without creating in the reader a feeling that he is being taught at.

So if you wish to look forward to a pleasant evening take this book home with you out of the storm. For, although meteorology pervades the book, like the allegory in the *Faerie Queen*, it will not bite you.

ALVIN THIESSEN

Literary Exegesis

JAMES JOYCE, A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION: Harry Levin; New Directions, Norfolk, Conn.; pp. 240; \$1.50 (U.S.).

JAMES JOYCE is going to be a godsend to the writers of doctoral theses and of footnoted articles in the learned language journals. Just when Shakespeare and Chaucer and the other great seemed to have been thoroughly used up as sources for annotation, Joyce dies and leaves behind him not only works of bulk and greatness but a final *magnum opus* already more obscure than Shakespeare and more teeming with scholarly puzzles crying out for exegesis than all the mystic books of Blake, Nostradamus and Hermes Trismegistus.

Mr. Levin, however, is no mere Alexandrian commentator. Although a young and comparatively unknown critic, and a Harvard professor, he has here written a genuine contribution to the understanding of a great writer. He is no cultist of the sort that has already written too much of the Joyce criticism, nor is he a hasty and Philistine debunker. He approaches Joyce objectively and in relation to the literary and social traditions of our times, and, in the process, makes a number of fresh and illuminating observations. He thinks of Joyce as essentially both a poet and a great comic genius, who, like Swift, was forced, partly by his times, into introversion and *saeva indignatio*. Technically, Joyce lacked the ability either for narrative or for sympathetic characterization of others, so that his works are not great as novels. "His peculiar strength lay in speculation, introspection, and an almost hyperesthetic capacity for rendering sensation. These are poetic attributes."

At the same time Mr. Levin does not, like most Joyceans, neglect Joyce's pioneer work in the modern short story, his independent development of a technique, in *Dubliners*, which, refined by Katharine Mansfield, was to influence the whole course of the twentieth-century *conte*. Mr. Levin's emphasis here, however, as elsewhere, is not so much upon Joyce's oddity as upon his representativeness. "The more we study Joyce the less unique he seems; and the more he seems to have in common with other significant writers of the past and of the present."

His book is most valuable in its sane, informed and penetrating analysis of *Finnegans Wake*. At times one feels that Mr. Levin is a somewhat excited mouse scampering about an enormous cheese, not knowing where to nibble first, and oppressed with the feeling that he can do no more than nibble. But he manages to gnaw some straight tunnels into the mass and to digest what he carries off. This book is the first in an advertised series by the same press on "makers of modern literature." If the others are up to this standard, the project will be of real importance.

EARLE BIRNEY

THE LONE SHIELING: G. H. Needler; University of Toronto Press; pp. 108; \$1.85.

AS THE RESULT of study in the work of John Galt during his sojourn in Canada, Professor Needler comes with a Jovian accent to put an end to the century-old speculation upon the authorship of the *Canadian Boat Song*. Mr. Needler by the application of tests metrical, biographical, figurative, verbal and personal seeks to establish the author as David Macbeth Moir, the Delta of the Blackwoods magazine.

In his metrical analysis, Professor Needler points to Moir as the author of numerous verses in the Sapphic strophe in Blackwoods and other periodicals during the period 1821-36. Why it should be necessary to pad out this discussion with forty odd pages on the development of the Sapphic strophe in English accentual verse is not quite clear. For the Canadian Boat Song is admittedly not in the Sapphic strophe but merely a fragrant echo of that form. To argue to Moir's authorship from its perfection of metrical form is hardly apposite since the Boat Song is not a perfect Sapphic, and as a writer of Sapphics Moir was hardly the perfect craftsman that Professor Needler would have us believe. Is it to establish this reading:

And we in dreams behold the Hebrides
that Professor Needler has followed the Sapphic strophe through the labyrinthine ways from Horace through the Latin hymn writers and Campion to Watts and Moir? The protestation is more interesting than convincing.

Nor is the argument from vocabulary and imagery much more valid. There is no body of work upon which to base so tenuous a judgment; after attacking the north protagonists for basing their argument on the author's use of the word *hoary*, Professor Needler proceeds to build a plea for Moir on so common a phrase as *waste of seas*.

Moir may have written the Canadian Boat Song though there is little in his Sapphics to suggest that he could have achieved its simple directness except by accident. Professor Needler will have to produce something more startling than this to convince us.

J. J. KNIGHTS

Quiet Joy

GAUTAMA THE ENLIGHTENED: John Masefield; Macmillan; pp. 58; \$1.75.

TO READERS for whom Masefield's poetry is "exulting and eternal in its essence," his four latest productions, *Gautama*, *Shopping in Oxford*, *Mahdama's Quest*, *An Art Worker*, may seem unusually soft-pedalled. Indeed, despite their varied voices, the quasi-unison of this quartet reaches a quieter than Masefieldian note of joy. "In joy I understood and shared all life," says Gautama calmly, or, calmer, "Enlightenment can only come through Joy." "There Joy goes into town," thinks

the Oxford shopper as gramophone discs are sold; joy too he finds in "arranging, like the cook, The many things which help to make a book," and joy for him the drug-store holds, "that fragrant cave of joys of life." "What a joy," the art worker exclaims before shop-windows

With all bright beautiful things
Which Kings would covet to buy
Were they as happy as I,
Only to give, to give,
To make some gladder to live,

or, more professionally, she "Sometimes finds a cheer Supposing the time here When every building glows (with murals) To give joy as Man goes." Even the somewhat lugubrious atmosphere of *Mahdama's Quest* melts amid bells in joy forever after.

Quiet joy is the note that all four strike in common; all too, in style, are amiably simple. Gautama's enlightenment through joy is told by cadenced, direct reference to well-known moments of the Buddha's life, with none of the dark saying the same evokes in Yeats, for instance, or A. E. John Masefield's joy through years of shopping in Oxford (this is the personal poem of the group) is, but for the power to express it in verse, that of all pleasant shoppers in pleasant places, who know what they want, where it is, and have the money to get it, and what disgruntled salesman anywhere could misconstrue the final heartening tribute to his Oxford colleagues? —

I live the gladder for the daily thought
"They gave me golden what my copper bought."

The descriptive embellishment of Prince Mahdama's successful ride to rescue his love, the Princess Malati, kidnapped by evil forces, lays no more strain on imagination than does the mysteriousness of the tale on curiosity, but the amiable simplicity of *An Art Worker* becomes tantalizing, since, alone of the four, this poem can be felt, or not, at will, suffused with a soft satire.

Appropriately, the best of sometime mariner Masefield's many distinguished phrases on Indian grove, London studio or Oxford market, is connected with the sea:

"a drawing

Of ships disdainful of the billows clawing"

"Such prizes have been mine," the poet adds, as we eye, through him, a shopful of antiques. R. F.

Seventeenth Century Theatre-Goers

SHAKESPEARE'S AUDIENCE: Alfred Harbage; Columbia Univ. Press; pp. ix and 200; \$2.25.

MR. HARBAGE, in his opening paragraph, looks in upon the audience leaving the first performance of Hamlet, and throughout his book he never loses the sense of the reality of that moving throng; he regards the Shakespearean audience with a quiet fondness that lends a glow of humanity even to his statistics.

The book is a brief for the sweet reasonableness of the Shakespearean audience against its many detractors who range from Shakespeare himself and Jonson, to Chambers and Lawrence. Starting from the contention that contemporary accounts are mutually contradictory on the subject, Mr. Harbage sets out to assess the weight of each contemporary voice and so to evaluate the crowd in the seventeenth century theatre in numbers, nature, intelligence and behavior. He maintains that even when Shakespeare heaps reproaches upon the "groundlings who for the most part are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb-shows and noise" he is doing so in character and we should not too rashly accept his picture as faithful to fact. With

respect to other dramatists and critics, Mr. Harbage brings adequate evidence to prove that the bitterness of their attacks on the patrons of the popular theatres was simply a conventional form easily acquired and more easily maintained by successive groups of disgruntled merchants, clergy and self-appointed moralists.

That the groundlings who paid their penny to stand in the pit were any more lewd, vulgar or boisterous than the ordinary Elizabethan crowd or even, mutatis mutandis, the ordinary modern movie crowd, Mr. Harbage is unwilling to believe. He sees even E. K. Chambers too willingly accepting the picture drawn by disappointed authors like Jonson or by shrewdly out of humor tradesmen who saw their profits flowing into the players' pockets. The courtiers too feared the theatres as one of the contributing causes to, rather than as evidence of, the development of the new democracy.

By calculation from the size of the theatre, from contemporary reference to actual performances and by study of the Henslowe accounts, Mr. Harbage arrives at a total of 3,000 playgoers on an average day in the theatres of London. They in their variety played no small part in the creation of Shakespeare's drama. Shakespeare, in his moments of modest reserve, may have thought of himself as "making himself a motley to the view" but he would have been much the lesser man, as Jonson and the university wits were lesser men, if he had preferred writing for a class to writing for all men and therefore found himself writing for an age rather than for all time.

J. J. KNIGHTS

Fashionable Concource

VAUXHALL GARDENS, a chapter in the social history of England: James Granville Southworth; Columbia University Press; pp. ix + 199; illus.; \$2.75.

PERHAPS the most natural approach to the history of Vauxhall Gardens is through the medium of English literature. From Pepys to Thackeray we constantly stumble upon references to the Gardens, most of which are sufficiently casual to make the reader long for a more circumstantial account of this unique social institution. But mere literary references are not sufficient; to satisfy his curiosity the student must enter what is undoubtedly the most difficult and the least satisfying of all historical fields, that of social history. Professor Southworth has made the transference from one field to the other with considerable grace, and thus we have here a monograph that collects within manageable compass most of the literary references, adding at the same time a wealth of historical matter.

Beginning with the ownership and management of the Gardens, the author describes the ground-plan, permanent buildings, and the highly popular tree-flanked walks. These chapters, and the one entitled 'Vauxhall Manners' seem the most satisfactory; those describing the entertainments and entertainers the least so. Any historical work inevitably reflects its sources, and in this case the two main sources being a collection of scrapbooks in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Harvard University Library it is not surprising at times to be reminded rather too forcefully of the scissors and paste-pot. Theatre and entertainment publicity has always tended to the exotic, and with so much of this as his source material the author has allowed a good deal of its tone to creep into his book. If only because we already know too much about the problems and pains of earlier ages and too little about their pleasures this book is a refreshing change in historical diet.

W. G. B.

Maitre D'Hotel

HOTEL SPLENDIDE: Bemelmans; Macmillan (Viking); pp. 192; \$3.00.

IT ISN'T the reader's fault if the hors d'oeuvres of Bemelmans' Hotel Splendide recall the rich banquet of Arnold Bennett's Imperial Palace Hotel—and it isn't the reader's fault that the comparison is unfair, for Bemelmans at his best does communicate something of that appreciation of the pleasures of the senses which was Arnold Bennett's long suit. His description of the African 'casserolier' reflecting the cleaned silver on his brown body; or of the same Kalakobé suitably bedecked as non-driving chauffeur of the completely but magnificently, vulgar Hispano; or again his evident smacking of the lips of Trimalchio's banquet—have all some of the same sensual gusto. He has also in some measure the same gift of seeming to enjoy the telling of a good story down to the last elaborated detail. The one about the Ballet visiting the magician is classic in its execution. However, there the similarity ends. Many of these sketches first appeared in the New Yorker magazine and Mr. Bemelmans aims merely to entertain in the limited field of telling a good story in the style of studied meaninglessness which all who write for the New Yorker seem to adopt. Though piquant—to use the kind of word which curdles the blood of the editors of that publication—in an individual article, the style palls in a volume, especially in a volume such as this, dealing with subjects which cry out for a liberal use of sentiment or social satire. There is sentiment and there is satire here, but in such a stunted form as to make one wonder whether it is worth buying "freedom from social significance" at that price.

The drawings too suffer from an inability to make up their minds whether they should favor James Thurber or Max Beerbohm—and there is quite a difference.

Despite these minor imperfections it amply accomplishes what it set out to do, entertain and amuse; and if you have a sick friend and can afford the price this should be what you are looking for.

G. C. A.

Miscellany

LAND, LABOR AND WEALTH: Ellen Winsor and Rebecca Evans; Caxton; pp. 117; \$2.00.

IN "LAND, LABOR, WEALTH," Ellen Winsor and Rebecca Winsor Evans have set out to clear some of the confusion regarding economic terms. An explanatory chapter each is dedicated to such terms as capital, rent, interest, tariff, wages. The book is compiled from extracts of works by Henry George, Jay Nack, Oppenheimer and others, but nevertheless forms a coherent whole with a very definite point of view.

The authors are convinced that the menace to free labor is not capital, but that monopoly stands in the way of fruitful production, in which mutual assistance between capital and labor would be possible. Capital has been mistakenly attacked as it is often identical and therefore confused with monopoly.

With the help of political protection, privilege has managed all through history to keep man from his birthright, the land. Through expropriation he has been made dependent and ready for exploitation. Even under the co-operative system the savings would lastly be absorbed by monopoly, unless the rent for natural resources be

collectively owned. Tariffs on import and export are nothing but another form of monopoly.

Farming, the largest of industries and the one on which all others depend, has fallen between two stools through private ownership of economic rent. We would suffer less from unbalanced agricultural production than from a continuance of private monopoly.

The little book is very readable even to those unacquainted with economic terms. It does not intend giving new methods, but a clear idea of the importance of economic problems of the present day, for, as the authors quote from the "Freeman," "in the end, all human affairs can be reduced to an economic law, just as the symphony can be reduced to mathematical vibrations." G. W.

ON SOCIAL FREEDOM: John Stuart Mill; Reprinted from the "Oxford and Cambridge Review," June, 1907, with an Introduction by Dorothy Fosdick; Columbia University Press; pp. vi, 69; \$1.00.

THE REPUBLICATION of this hitherto little-known essay will be of more interest to scholars than to the general, or even the political, reading public. Mill wrote it presumably towards the end of his life and left it unpublished; it appears also to be unfinished. Too full of loose ends to be a good essay, it is chiefly interesting as evidence that Mill was moving to, and had substantially reached, an idealist theory of the State. He abandons the extreme individualism of the essay *On Liberty*, but he does not here show any leaning towards socialism such as appears in some of his other later works. There is no analysis of the class nature of freedom; he is still thinking in terms of "the individual." He concludes that freedom consists in acting in conformity with one's highest motives, i.e., those furthest from animal appetites. Mill remained a moral reformer of individuals; indeed, as Miss Fosdick says, "one is not quite sure whether the author is more interested in promoting freedom or reforming his readers."

C. B. M.

DRAGON'S TEETH: Upton Sinclair; Macmillan; pp. 631; \$3.25.

THIS IS the third novel in the Lanny Budd series, and with it we come to the edge of the abyss into which Europe and the world have since been plunged.

The padding follows much the same pattern as in *Between Two Worlds* and *World's End*. Lanny continues to be a patron of the arts and a rather Oxford Group sort of go-between for his socialist friends on the one hand and his socialite entourage on the other. However, as events in Europe lead on towards catastrophe his life begins to have more direction.

In the last part of the book, Lanny rescues a Jewish relative from the horrors of Dachau, and yet in spite of the fact that in the process, he—Lanny—is arrested, and imprisoned for a few days, the episode has little dramatic force. This lack of intensity is characteristic of the whole book. As a character Lanny is too much the "kiss-and-make-up" type of social reformer, to sustain one's interest.

Perhaps twenty years from now it may be interesting to read novels like this: but the history of Europe and the world during the past ten years at least, is a part of the madness we are witnessing now. The situation today is too desperate for an easy-going Cook's tour de luxe atmosphere such as pervades this novel. And while it may have been acceptable in the earlier ones, the absence of crescendo in this one is extremely disappointing.

M. I. T.

BASIC SCIENCE EDUCATION SERIES: Bertha Morris Parker and Thomas Park; The Copp Clark Company (Row, Peterson and Company, U.S.A.); pp. 36; 35c.

[Some of the titles in this series are: *Ask the Weather Man*, *The Sky Above Us*, *Clouds, Rain and Snow*, *Flowers, Fruits, Seeds*, *Stories Read from the Rocks*.]

SCIENCE is assuming a place of increasing importance in the training for democratic citizenship. This series of sixty-five booklets is a successful attempt to provide a course in physical and biological science for school-children from Grade 4 to 9. The written material has been profusely supplemented with excellent illustrations and each booklet has been checked by an expert for its scientific accuracy. Though they can and will make excellent classroom texts, the booklets take a rightful place among the better books for children; they are splendidly informative and at the same time will succeed in holding a child's whole-hearted attention. J. W. MacCUBBIN

APACHE DAYS AND AFTER: General Thomas Cruse; Caxton Printers, Ltd.; pp. 328; \$3.50 (U.S.).

THE GENERAL'S REMINISCENCES will be useful only to specialists on the U.S. Southwest's military history, their theme being chiefly the liquidating or "pacifying" of the unhappy Indian population of Arizona and New Mexico. The "varied and picturesque life" of the author would seem to be slim justification for a book which the octogenarian was evidently persuaded to publish against his own better judgment.

Most of the book is descriptive of the rather pitiful dog-fights between U.S. cavalry units and a tribe of courageous Indians who were certain to be beaten in the end. There are chapters on the Spanish-American war and U.S. military life in Manila: there the general witnessed, on July 4, 1901, the establishment of civil government. While some of the plenitude of photographs may well be "rare" (as the blurb hath it) they will be at the same time rarely of value to anybody.

That the author "broke in" 2nd Lieutenant John J. Pershing is suggested as his main claim to fame! His use of the term tomtoms as an item of Apache culture betrays no greater basic knowledge of the lore of the American Indian than the vast majority of their white conquerors could ever claim. JOHN F. DAVIDSON

INTER-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY: W. H. C. Laves (editor); The University of Chicago Press; pp. 228; \$1.50.

THIS IS A SERIES of lectures given last summer under the auspices of the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation. They deal with the political, economic, military, social and cultural aspects of inter-American solidarity. With two or perhaps three exceptions the names of the contributors will be unfamiliar to most Canadian readers. But this is a good reason for reading the book; for three of the contributors are Latin Americans; namely, Herminio Portell Vila, Eduardo Villasenor and Daniel Samper Ortega; and Canadians as a rule know very little about the writers and intellectuals who are helping to crystallize the attitudes of the other Americans in the southern half of the hemisphere. One of the contributors, however, is very well known to Canadians, particularly to readers of the Forum. Professor F. R. Scott's lecture on Canada and Hemispheric Solidarity is one which I wish someone would read into Hansard. It is, to use a well worn cliché, a lecture "which every Canadian should read." The other contributors are George Fielding Eliot, Arthur R. Upgren and J. F. Rippy. I have read

recently a number of books on Pan Americanism and Latin America. This is one of the best. I was particularly impressed by its high standard of scholarship and by the restraint with which the authors have dealt with a subject which is too often charged with wishful thinking and easy sentimentalism. JOHN P. HUMPHREY

Seashore

Down, down at the sea's edge
Where the wind blows clean the sky,
Where the lean seabirds forage
There we'll wander, you and I

There we'll hunt for speckled shells
And lie in the sun all salted down
In brine and sand, and hear the bells
Ringing the breaker's bursting sound

Its green and naked surf, riding free
Its roar mocking the seabirds cry,
While up and down the crown of the sea
Careen the sun and wind and sky.

JAMES McDERMOTT



WESTERN FOREST

by Emily Carr
Collection of the Art Gallery of Toronto

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Books Received

Poetry As A Means of Grace: C. G. Osgood; Princeton University Press; pp. 131; \$2.00.

The Saturday Review, 1855-1868: M. B. Bevington; Columbia Univ. Press; pp. xii + 415; \$3.50.

Vauxhall Gardens: J. G. Southworth; Columbia Univ. Press; pp. ix + 199; illus.; \$2.75.

Peace by Power: Lionel Gelber; Oxford University Press; pp. 159; \$1.00.

Two Revolutions—F. D. Roosevelt—G. Vargas: Danton Jobim; Victor Book-store Publishers; pp. 156.

Mines and Minerals in Brazil: Josias Leao; Centro de Estudos Economicos, Rio de Janeiro; pp. 239; \$1.00.

Toward the Winning Goal: Anthony Patric; Oficinas Graficas, Rio de Janeiro; pp. 316.

The Unknown Country—Canada and Her People: Bruce Hutchison; Coward-McCann, New York City; pp. 373; \$3.50.

War As A Social Institution: Jesse D. Clarkson, Thomas C. Cochran (Editors); Columbia University Press; pp. 333; \$3.50.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

How to Check Inflation: John M. Clark; Public Affairs, New York; pp. 31; 10c (U.S.A.).

Urban Redevelopment and Housing: Guy Greer and Alvin H. Hansen; National Planning Association (Washington, D.C.); pp. 24; 25c (U.S.A.).

Britain's Trade in the Post-War World: National Planning Association (Washington, D.C.); pp. 35; 25c (U.S.A.).

1917 and 1941: Frederick B. Artz; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 24; 10c.

Hitler's Conquest of America: William S. Schlamm; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 30; 10c.

Hitler's Speeches and the United States: Gordon W. Prange; Oxford University Press; pp. 32; 10c.

America Faces Japan: William C. Johnstone; Oxford University Press; pp. 32; 10c.

Building Our Fences in Latin America: J. Anton de Haas; Oxford University Press; pp. 32; 10c.

German Geopolitics: H. W. Weigert; Oxford University Press; pp. 32; 10c.

Our Allies: The Netherlands East Indies: J. Anton de Haas; Oxford University Press; pp. 32; 10c.

Jewish Emancipation: Raphael Mahler; Research Instit.; The American Jewish Committee; pp. 54.

Canada for All Canadians: L. J. Donaldson; Privately Printed; pp. 119; cloth, \$1.00, paper, 60c.

More for Your Money: Carol Willis Moffett; Public Affairs Committee, New York; pp. 31; 10c (U.S.A.).

The Royal Canadian Navy: E. H. Bartlett; Macmillan; pp. 30; 25c.

Prostitution and The War: Philip S. Broughton; Public Affairs, New York City; pp. 31; 10c (U.S.A.).

Canada Tomorrow: R. O. MacFarlane; Can. Inst. Inter. Affairs and Can. Assoc. Ad. Ed.; pp. 24; 10c.

Blueprints for a New World: R. O. MacFarlane; C.I.I.A. and C.A.A.E.; pp. 24; 10c.

Beginning at the End: R. O. MacFarlane; C.I.I.A. and C.A.A.E.; pp. 24; 10c.

We Discuss Canada: Y.M.C.A. Committee, introduction by Sydney Smith; Ryerson; pp. 69; 75c.

The I.L.O. at Work: International Labour Office, 3480 University St., Montreal, P.Q.

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